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CHILDREN OF THE STATE

THE

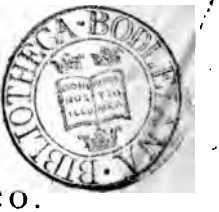
TRAINING OF JUVENILE PAUPERS

BY

FLORENCE HILL

" If I have dwelt long upon the little part of our species, let it plead my excuse to say, I cannot view a human being, however diminutive in stature, or oppressed in fortune, without considering *I view an equal.*"

Hutton's History of Birmingham.



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PREFACE.

THE style of the following little treatise may perhaps reveal that it was begun with a view to insertion in a Review or Magazine. As it advanced, however, I found myself compelled to choose between exceeding the limits I had prescribed to myself, or failing in great part to use the information courteously afforded me from many quarters; and the importance and interest, as it seemed to me, of this information, gathered from foreign countries as well as our own, and derived in almost every instance from the highest authorities on the subject to which it refers, decided me to lengthen my undertaking in order to avail

myself of the material I had been so fortunate as to obtain.

For the extreme kindness with which my informants have answered my applications—often addressed to those to whom I was an entire stranger—I desire to express my cordial thanks.

December 31, 1867.

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WORKHOUSES AND WORKHOUSE SCHOOLS.

Ictibus crebris must be the motto of every social reformer, whether practically engaged in the repression of evil, or limited to the humbler privilege of wielding the pen. Such repetition sooner or later produces its effect. For instance, in April, 1861, Miss Cobbe remarks on the inadequacy of the workhouse surgeon's salary to cover the cost of expensive but absolutely necessary medicines; a few months later Dr. Rogers, Medical Officer of the Strand Union, in his evidence before the Poor Relief Committee of the House of Commons, recommends that Guardians should supply all medicines; and the Report issued by the Committee advises "that in future cod-liver oil, quinine, and other expensive medicines shall be provided at the expense of the guardians subject to the orders and regulations of the Poor Law Board."

In the last Annual Report of that body, a circular letter, addressed by its secretary to Boards of Guardians, states that the central Board has "repeatedly considered the recommendation of the [Poor Relief] committee relative to the supply of" the medicines referred to, "with the view of determining what measures should be taken by them to carry it into effect." The letter proceeds to suggest a plan by which this may be accomplished, but as it does not render its adoption imperative, some further "strokes" may yet be needed to achieve the reform.

Again, in the same paper, Miss Cobbe points out the need for other than pauper nurses for the workhouse patient; and the gross evils resulting from their employment without the supervision of superior attendants, has since been dwelt upon *ad nauseam* by every one interested in the welfare of the sick poor. But, from the Report already quoted of the Poor Law Board, we learn that more strokes are yet required; for another circular-letter to Boards of Guardians, directing attention to the state of their sick wards in regard to the attendants, urges the appointment not only of paid nurses

of "experience in the treatment of the sick, of great respectability of character, and of diligent and decorous habits," but of paid assistants also, recommending guardians to "discontinue the practice of appointing pauper inmates of the workhouse to act as assistant nurses in the infirmary or sick ward." The letter is dated 1865. We can safely aver that there are now, in 1867, at least as many pauper as paid nurses in our workhouses; but, "little strokes fell great oaks," and we may hope this improvement, too, will in time be accomplished. Private munificence has already instituted the reform at Liverpool; and at Chorlton the aid, wholly gratuitous, of Sisters from All Saints Home in London, has been obtained to superintend the nursing. At both unions the benefit alike to the patients, and in the general discipline of the sick wards, is already remarkable.[a]

Another instance of the effect of reiterated effort may be gathered from the appeals of those earnest reformers, the Workhouse Visiting Society, renewed from year to year, nay from month to month, in their valuable journal, as well as in Social Science papers, against the

[a] Eighteenth Annual Report of the Poor Law Board.

horrors, often concealed under a fair exterior, to be found in many of the metropolitan workhouse infirmaries. Their voice may have failed to reach the general ear, but it was gradually awakening the attention of individuals, who, forming early last year the "Association for the Improvement of the Infirmaries of Workhouses," dealt such sledge-hammer blows on the public conscience as aroused it to the conviction that iniquities like those disclosed to its humiliated gaze must not continue. The Bill of Mr. Gathorne Hardy was the prompt result of that conviction—a Bill which, when it should have become law, would, it was hoped, clear away for ever those awful abominations, whose existence in our country is a reproach alike to its civilization and its religion. But into the clauses providing that one-third of the managers of the "District Asylums" (which are to replace the present sick and infirm wards) should be nominated by the Poor Law Board an amendment has been suffered to creep, causing all *ex officio* guardians to be included in that same third,—an amendment which, as regards the larger unions where the *ex officio* guardians already equal the proportion indicated, has

virtually nullified this most important provision; and thus the Act, so eagerly desired, becomes where most wanted a dead letter! Here, then, are renewed strokes again needed.

With these examples before us of the *vis inertiæ* where progress is concerned of our Poor Law department, whether central or local, we cannot be surprised to find that the very evils in the treatment of juvenile paupers embodied in a Report by Poor Law Commissioners themselves, twenty-six years ago, are still rampant among us. "The children in workhouses, even in those in which the classification is maintained with the greatest strictness, are more or less associated with the women. The adult single women in the house have often children, whom they are of course permitted to see, and the girls cannot learn any domestic duty without coming occasionally in contact with this class, who are much employed in household work. Such associations, even where much vigilance exists, are, we are convinced, polluting. *A workhouse cannot, with the greatest attention to classification, be made a place in which young girls can be removed from the chances of*

corruption."[a] "All pauper servants and assistants whatsoever should be banished from children's establishments [*i.e.*, Workhouse, Separate, or District Schools], and no person should be employed in the household whose character and habits are not in every respect unexceptionable. It is of primary importance to secure assistants of cheerful temper, and with habits of kindness to children, and, above all, wholly free from those feelings of dependence which are the usual characteristics of paupers."[b] "I have no doubt," says Mr. Green, a union schoolmaster, "that the amount of juvenile delinquency has been greatly increased by the neglect of the training of pauper children in the poorhouses; by the grossly vicious examples to which they have been exposed within the workhouse; by their absconding, on account of misconduct and bad treatment, from their situations."[c] The enlightened chairman at that period of the Stepney Union, Mr. George Frederic Young, points out the danger of workhouse children "becoming a separate caste, in some respects

[a] Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, from the Poor-Law Commissioners, on the Training of Pauper Children. London. 1841. p. ix.

[b] Ibid, p. 117. [c] Ibid, p. 146.

unfitted for mixing hereafter in the world, and liable to the taint, in the estimation of others, of that pauperism, of which every vestige should, if possible, be banished from observation or remembrance."[a] "I have reason to believe," says Mr. Tuffnell, inspector of schools, "great cruelties are practised at times on the children, which probably do not always come to light, as a schoolmaster has no difficulty in awing an unhappy orphan, who probably has not a friend in the world, into silence. . . . Where is a poor friendless orphan or foundling (for of these classes a great proportion of the workhouse children consist) to turn for assistance, when it knows no one on whom it can place confidence, or to whom it can utter complaints?"[b] With reference to entirely separating children from the workhouse, Mr. Tuffnell says, "It is perfectly well known to all who have had experience in poor law matters that a very large proportion of the adult inmates are persons of the worst character, the very refuse of the population. . . . That this class, morally infected as it is, should be kept separate from the children, is of course of primary importance;

[a] Ibid, p. 191. [b] Ibid, p. 346.

and, in every union workhouse, means are taken to provide for this end, by building separate wards and yards for each class. I am confident, however, that architectural arrangements can never effectually secure perfect classification in a workhouse. Conversation, sometimes of the obscenest description, is carried on over walls and through windows. In going to dinner or chapel there are ready means of communication; doors are accidentally left open, and the adults are employed in carrying or removing furniture or other articles from one part to another.[a] . . . *The atmosphere of a workhouse is tainted with vice; no one who regards the future happiness of the children would ever wish them to be educated within its precincts.*"[b] "The proximity of the adults," we are informed by a gentleman of long experience as a guardian, "is a great disadvantage; and no regulations, however stringent, can prevent the contaminating association of the children with the worthless adults." Yet, in the union to which he refers, the juvenile paupers are classed in the Report of the Poor Law Board as being "in a separate building." "In the almost conventual seclusion of the work-

[a] Ibid, p. 349. [b] Ibid, p. 350.

house," says Mr. Edward Senior, "the danger of evil consequences resulting from this association [of adult and juvenile paupers] is much increased, as both sexes of children must form their standard of persons generally from those they see around them, and these are, unfortunately the very outcasts of society.[a] "There are very few unions," says Mr. Ruddock, school inspector, "where there are distinct children's sick wards except in name. I need not point out all the evil which must result from the intermixture of adults and children in the same sick-ward. The ailments of the latter are often of a light nature, but which necessitate their withdrawal from the school; and in the sick-ward they have no employment but to listen to the conversation of those with whom the less the children have to do the better. I have had it as a frequent complaint from school teachers, that they have found it difficult to keep children free from certain cutaneous complaints, and other accidents incidental to a workhouse, owing to the attraction of the sick-wards, where the latter know they will be sent to be cured; they therefore often inoculate each other, and as

[a] Ibid, p. 392.

these ailments do not entail any loss of diet, but rather the contrary, there is no drawback to set against the relief from the school routine."[a]

"Workhouses and the whole system of their organization are alien to the proper treatment and training of the young," writes another inspector, the late lamented Mr. Jelinger C. Symons. "The practice, for instance, of allowing the elder girls to nurse the infants, wherever it obtains, brings a class remarkably susceptible of corruption into immediate contact with another class of all others most likely to corrupt them—I mean the inmates of the adult female wards, which are seldom free from the presence of the mothers of illegitimate children. It thus happens that one of the best facilities for the useful training of girls in workhouses is coupled with their chief liability to be corrupted; and that industrial discipline which lies at the root of the cure of hereditary pauperism, is tainted with the germs of a still more deadly moral disease."[b]

In quoting these passages, it is right to state our conviction, that though a large proportion of the inmates of workhouses are morally degraded,

[a] *Journal of the Workhouse Visiting Society*, February, 1860.
[b] *Social Science Transactions*, 1858.

there are to be found among them many well-disposed, and some, particularly among the sick, affording examples of piety, cheerful submission to their dreary lot, and a purity of mind that would adorn any rank of life. Nor can we doubt that as a rule the school-teachers as well as the masters and matrons discharge their duties conscientiously and with much kindly feeling towards those under their care; while that guardians as a body desire to do their best for the paupers consistently with their obligations towards the ratepayers, and that as regards the children especially, they frequently evince a warm and active interest in their welfare, we firmly believe. That the proportion of failure to success in the results attained should be so large, we attribute, first, to the inherent difficulties presented by the very nature of the evil—pauperism—to be dealt with; secondly, to some defects in the Poor Law which will hereafter be indicated; thirdly, to the higher branches of its administration falling wholly into the hands of one sex while they need the combined experience and intelligence of both; and lastly, perhaps chiefly, to the entire absence from pauper government of the vital principle of individualisation.

Accompanying lately a shrewd and observant friend in what, though intimately acquainted with our poor in the freedom of their own homes, was her first visit to them in a workhouse, we asked her how her mind was affected by the establishment—a very large and well-ordered one, revealing in every part the presence of strict discipline. She answered, the one overwhelming impression was that of *power*. Taught by experience more costly than gold,—for it had been purchased by human suffering—that there is mortal danger in freeing our fellow-creature from a single duty laid upon him by his Creator — that the true philanthropist dares rarely attempt more than to clear impediments from before his stumbling feet, or to invigorate the weary back to bear its own burden,—she was awestruck by the vastness of the responsibility incurred in the wholesale assumption of the claims of parent, child, and citizen, and the correlative assumption of unlimited authority over those yielding them up, which the administration of our Poor Law involves—an authority, however, which saps the very foundation of individual self-government. An integral part of this law is the principle which declares it to

be illegal to pay wages to paupers, since, if capable of earning them, they are not strictly speaking "destitute,": a principle depriving even the pupils of pauper schools of the invigorating influence of remunerative industry.[a] Thus, in performing work—rightly required of them—paupers are in fact—disguise it as we will—reduced to slavery; and the vices of the slave —indolence, lack of self-control, indifference to the value of property, and absolute dependence upon others—are painfully apparent in those who have dwelt long within workhouse walls. Why more than mere shelter and the barest sustenance should be bestowed at the cost of the struggling rate-payer upon the able-bodied pauper, it is hard to conceive; and why the most potent motive to exertion with

[a] Dr. Kay describes (Report on the Training of Pauper Children, 1841, p. 34, *et seq.*,) the admirable effect at Lady Byron's School at Ealing Grove, of allowing the boys to be paid for cultivating the land belonging to the Institution, and to dispose of the produce of the small gardens allotted to each lad. "The plans," Dr. Kay, however, continues, "pursued at Ealing Grove would require considerable modification in a school containing pauper children. *It would not be possible to afford the stimulus of wages* for land not allotted to the children, nor could the profits of the allotments be given to children maintained at the expense of the ratepayers."

which our Creator has inspired us—the necessity, namely, of satisfying our natural wants—should be annihilated by the provisions of our Poor Law, it is equally impossible satisfactorily to explain. That a man who is unable to supply himself with *all* he needs should therefore be relieved of the duty of earning any part—that the idle and insubordinate should share alike with the industrious and docile—and that to the pauper the possibility should not exist of gaining by extra exertion some small fund with which to start in the world afresh—are defects working daily and hourly for evil, degrading the inmates of our workhouses to one dead level of hopeless and demoralizing dependence. Yet these inmates are derived from that class above all others which, from circumstances of birth, education, and social position, most need the application of every available spur to self-reliance.

Paupers under our present system may be likened to a watch whereof the mainspring is broken. The hands may be directed whither we will, but they have no motion of their own. How far adults of this class can—as *paupers*—be inspired with self-dependence is a problem yet to be solved, though suggestions by wise and

experienced men towards its solution are not wanting;[a] but as *criminals* the difficulty has been overcome. The mainspring is restored simply by making men depend within a gaol, as they must do outside its walls, for their comforts and privileges upon their own exertions and self-control. Let him who has witnessed the intelligent self-respectful bearing of the inmates of the intermediate prisons at Dublin and Lusk, the last stage of the Irish Convict System, and who has acquainted himself with their subsequent well-doing in life, proclaim the practicability of the achievement.

Mr. Frederick Hill, late Inspector of Prisons for Scotland, and who has made the operation of the Poor Law a special study, suggests "it would be well deserving of consideration, whether as a general rule every one who had once applied for admission to a workhouse should not be detained until either by his labour, by assistance of his friends, or by other means, he had defrayed his entire cost, or had at least

[a] Among others we would specify those contained in an admirable paper by Mr. George Carr, Governor of the Liverpool Workhouse, entitled "Self-Supporting Pauper Labour." See *Social Science Transactions*, 1858.

given security to that effect."[a] Such a rule doubtless would tend to cultivate, in those inclined to seek public charity, an independent and self-reliant spirit essential to raise them out of pauperism.

But it is of our three hundred thousand *juvenile* paupers we now desire to treat, alike the most hopeful, and the most important class—the most hopeful because they fall under our care while the character is yet plastic and may be moulded to our will;—the most important because in them, according as we deal with them, will be perpetuated, or will be in a great degree extinguished, the curse of pauperism. On all hands it is acknowledged that if these children can be made capable and willing to support themselves in after life, by honest industry, "the entail of pauperism" will be cut off. The desire so to train them, we cannot doubt, is universal, were it due only to self-interest, setting aside all higher motives; but that the means employed are far from co-extensive with the desire is a painful and undeniable fact. We have already seen how urgent are

[a] Eighteenth Annual Report of the Poor Law Board.

the reasons for separating these children from the adult inmates of workhouses, and how impossible such separation is if their school is under the same roof, or even contiguous. Yet we find that in more than 400 of the 623 unions of England and Wales the children are avowedly in this untoward position;[a] and, as the two schools with which we happen to be acquainted among those classed as "separate," (*i.e.*, entirely divided from the workhouse), form, to our knowledge, part of the building of their respective unions, we much fear the combination of school and workhouse is far more general even than it appears by the official returns. We can feel therefore no surprise, however appalled we may be, at the fate of children educated in pauper schools.

Eighty per cent. of the girls they send to service are failures, in the opinion of the Honourable Mrs. Way, founded on observation and inquiries pursued in every part of England for many years.[b] Lately, a lady, residing in one of our large towns, desiring to befriend workhouse girls in service, obtained from the authori-

[a] *Crime, its Amount, Causes, and Remedies.* London: Murray, 1853.

[b] Report of the Poor Relief Committee, July, 1861.

ties what they believed to be the addresses of a large number who had been recently sent to situations. But on applying at forty-five of the places indicated, she found fourteen only of the girls. Of the rest, some had removed with their employers to a distance, some had been dismissed for ill-behaviour, some had run away, of some she could not ascertain what fate had befallen them. Yet, though less than a-third were discoverable, all would doubtless have been returned in good faith by the parish officials, if called upon for a report, as conducting themselves well. A workhouse matron declares, "of 300 girls she had known, she did not believe one-third had done well."[a] And many a workhouse schoolmistress has been heard to deplore the lot awaiting the children she has learnt to love, and who will, she knows, return sooner or later to the adult ward disgraced.

The following description informs us what that adult ward is in which the vicious and the virtuous are mingled on equal terms.[b] "It is a

[a] *Journal of the Workhouse Visiting Society*, May, 1859.

[b] The West London Union is an honourable exception from most workhouses in this respect; nor does it impose oakum picking on its respectable inmates.

ward where women of various ages and characters are assembled, and where the occupation is hair or oakum picking. Here and there we may perhaps find them in the laundry, but as a general rule the middle-aged women are employed there, and there are almost always more than are wanted for this work. In the needle-room the *better* sort of women, mostly elderly, are engaged, so that the *young* women are rarely to be found there. The most common arrangement is, therefore, for them to be placed in a shed (often an underground room) and made to pick hair, a certain quantity being ordered as a day's work, which is given out and received by the labour-master or superintendent, who is the chief person brought into communication with this class. [a] The work being over at six o'clock, there is always an hour or two to spare before bed-time, while on Sundays there are many hours when no occupation is provided to counteract the evil effects of unrestrained liberty of com-

[a] This quantity varies in the different unions and with the strength and capacity of the inmates, or, rather, the labour-master's estimate thereof. There is no other boundary set to the task of a pauper, and we have heard of 4 lbs. being demanded.

panionship and language."[a] In one London workhouse—perhaps in more—the inmates pass the night as well as the day in the "oakum shop." If to the wearisome nature of the occupation be added the disagreeable smell of the oakum, the dirt attaching both to it and to hair, and the dreary monotony of the often half-dark shed in which the task is performed, can we marvel at the reaction after work hours often taking the form of the wildest excess? In a workhouse with which we are acquainted the matron has related to us the abandoned conduct of these poor creatures. Stripped to the waist they would dance madly, shouting the obscenest songs, and eventually sometimes fall to fighting.

"The whole system," remarks a relieving officer, "is (as regards this class) so rotten, so opposed to common sense, decency, and right feeling,—so irrational, that one is at a loss how to designate it. The whole of this class would at least appear to be placed from beginning to end in the *wrong hands*; neither guardians, relieving officers nor taskmasters should have anything to do with them, but they should be

[a] *Journal of the Workhouse Visiting Society*, Feb., 1860.

placed under the sole management of a discreet but firm matron, aided if necessary by the master. A system of conciliation and encouragement should be pursued towards them. Rewards for good conduct in the house, and for continuing in service should be held out to them; this, with allowing the free visitation of ladies, would not fail of going a great way towards reclaiming them. The system at present practised towards them exasperates them, and causes most of them to pursue a life of vice for which it will not be held guiltless." [a]

The young women who have grown up in a workhouse form a class proverbial for audacity and shamelessness. The chaplain rarely visits them, conscious that they are beyond his influence; although it must be admitted there are many instances in which the most obdurate have yielded to the appeals and judicious sympathy of benevolent women. Punishment only renders them more defiant; and the longest period of the dark cell with bread and water diet, which can legally be inflicted, while it subdues the wildest male pauper, produces no effect upon these unhappy creatures. A year or two ago an

[a] *Journal of the Workhouse Visiting Society*, Feb., 1860.

outburst of the noisiest insubordination (and those only who have heard can realize its horror), was apologetically accounted for by the master, who said, "You see, Sir, they are the girls who have been brought up in the house."

"The workhouses are filled with a multitude of idle, ignorant, often refractory girls, either brought up at the expense of the rates, or utterly spoiled by a sojourn in the adult wards, whom it is next to impossible to provide for in any way. . . . Even when they begin with a good intention to do something for themselves, it is fatal to their progress to remember in every vexation, temptation, and difficulty that there is such a refuge for idleness, perverseness and vice, as the institution which was their *home* and training school. . . . Valuable returns, furnished by guardians of two different unions, show the little chance there is for girls thus brought up. In one case of 165 girls apprenticed out in the course of three years

73 were readmitted to the workhouse
13 absconded, or left their employers
61 there was no account of
18 were reported as going on well

In the other case 160 young women were at one time provided with clothes to enable them to get employment; and of these, 58, or about one-third, found their way back to the workhouse after an average time spent in service of *two months and a half!* They were all *habituées* of the workhouse; one with another residents of eight years, some thirteen and sixteen years, and none less than three years." [a] Among the remedies proposed by the authors of the paper we here quote from,—whose practical acquaintance with the unhappy class they describe is equalled only by their benevolent efforts for their improvement,—are the placing out deserted and orphan pauper children to board in respectable families; and the introduction into workhouses of a high order of female superintendence.

"Of 180 able-bodied young women who left the Cork Workhouse, 60 returned after a very brief interval." [b] "There is *no place*," it has been truly said, "in the Union for respectable young

[a] "The Irish Poor in Workhouses," by Ellen Woodlock and Sarah Atkinson. *Social Science Transactions*, 1861.

[b] *Journal of the Workhouse Visiting Society*, 1860. The Cork Guardians have since opened an Industrial Training Home (hereafter described) for this class with excellent results.

women;" and it was to supply shelter to this class that Miss Twining opened her Industrial Home for girls in New Ormond Street. In commencing it, she found to be characteristic of those who had grown up as paupers "a total want of gratitude and affection towards individuals. They are perfectly well acquainted with their 'rights' as to maintenance by their parishes and reception into the workhouses. Above the age of sixteen they are completely their own mistresses and can go in or take their discharge, whenever and for whatever cause they choose." [a] "Many girls," says the guardian of a large union, "discharge themselves in the afternoon for the purpose of prostitution, and return late to the house." Another guardian, when asked why outrageous girls were not subjected to severe discipline, answered, "We dare not; if we used coercion they would take their discharge and do worse." An officer connected with the large separate pauper school at Swinton in Lancashire, being asked what proportion of the girls sent forth from that establishment, as compared with the daughters of artisans, had taken to bad courses, answered

[a] Ibid, May, 1862.

"Do not ask me; it is so painful that I can hardly tell you the extent to which evil will predominate in those proceeding from our institution;" and a similar statement was made by the corresponding officer for Kirkdale Separate School, who said "the number of girls who come to grief who went out from that institution at Kirkdale was painful to think of, it was so large."[a]

Penitentiaries and other institutions for fallen women are loth—some absolutely refuse—to receive those brought up in workhouses, from despair of the possibility of reclaiming them. "It must be borne in mind," writes the Secretary of the Rescue Society, when accounting for the small proportion admitted into the Society's Homes, "that our judgment is always opposed to the reception of workhouse cases, from their comparative hopelessness;" and the details of those permitted to enter amply confirm this opinion.[b] Mr. Kekewich, M.P., speaking at the first annual meeting of Miss Twining's Home, said "for some time he had been Chairman of one

[a] Poor Relief Committee, July, 1861.

[b] Thirteenth Report of the Rescue Society, 85 Queen Street, Cheapside.

of the largest rural unions, and he knew the defects of the law. One of the most difficult points was the bringing up of children within the walls of a workhouse. Even if they were well cared for, there was something in the very atmosphere of the workhouse which was contaminating. 'What was it? . . . He believed the reason of their failure to be that they did not know the meaning of the word 'home.'" [a]

"The case of the girls," says Miss Cobbe, whose remarks are founded on personal observation, "is far worse than the boys, as all the conditions of workhouse management fall with peculiar evil on their natures. To mass boys together in large numbers, with no home influence or habits, and no attempt to draw out their affections, is dangerous; to do the same to girls, is fatal. Among all the endless paradoxes of female treatment, one of the worst and most absurd is that which, while eternally proclaiming 'home' to be the only sphere of a woman, systematically educates all the female children of the State without attempting to give them even an idea of what a home might be. Girls want affection, want personal care, want

[a] *Journal of the Workhouse Visiting Society*, May, 1862.

household duties, want everything which can train them to honour the bodies, and keep pure the souls, which God has given them. To effect this, we mass them by hundreds where they have no affection, no personal care, nay, hardly a personal existence at all, save as units in a herd, no household duties; and as much degradation as hideous uniform and cropped hair, and shoes which change the natural lightness of the step of youth to the shuffle of age, can possibly achieve. The result is becoming at last so palpable that none may shut their eyes. The poor girls, so trained, go out into the humbler class of service, where their ignorance of the simplest household duties, their want of self-control, and hopeless stupidity, too often provoke the harshness of their employers. In their errands in the streets at all hours, the secret of another and all too easy livelihood is revealed to them. No mother, or friendly teacher is there to save them, no house to which to go, when dismissed from service, save the weary workhouse again. Before they return thither, they try that dread alternative. Out of a single workhouse in London inquiry was instituted two years ago concerning eighty girls who had left it

and gone to service. It was found that every one of them was on the streets." [a] "I can affirm one thing on my own experience," says elsewhere the same eloquent writer, "and that is this, that one of the largest channels through which young lives are drained down into the dead sea which underlies all our vaunted civilization is the workhouse." [b] A parliamentary return for Middlesex shows that 11 per cent. of the boys, and 20·7 per cent. of the girls brought up in schools attached to workhouses have misconducted themselves; *i.e.*, have been ascertained by the very imperfect means existing for investigation, to have turned out ill,—for it must be borne in mind that rarely, if ever, are any official records kept of the career of pauper children after the age of sixteen, not even of those educated in district schools.

Mrs. Way was informed by the master of a large union in Surrey that all his girls who were sent to service got excellent places and turned out well; but in the very same town she was told by the wife of one of

[a] *The Philosophy of the Poor Laws.* London: Trubner & Co. 1865.

[b] *Friendless Girls and how to help them*, by Frances Power Cobbe. London. Victoria Press. Price 1d.

the principal tradesmen that "no respectable tradesman would take a union child — only those who want drudges;" and she received a statement similar to the latter, from the matron of a large workhouse in Kent. [a] The master of the Gloucester Union said to Mrs. Way, "My only hope is to get them [the girls] out as young as possible; for it makes me tremble to think that girls not more than eleven years old should hear the awful language that these girls do hear." [b]

Such testimony from the mouths of workhouse officials, guardians, and independent observers alike, might be multiplied *ad infinitum;* but we have cited enough to prove that there are thousands of children growing up in our midst, under the complete control of the State, and whom she is educating, at vast expense, not for God's service but the Devil's!

It would be uncandid to ignore the fact that workhouse schools are approved by many excellent men, whose desire for the children's welfare it is impossible to doubt; but it strikes us as significant that we never heard a *woman* (with

[a] Poor Relief Committee, 1861. [b] Ibid.

the rare exception of some officially connected with them) express a similar opinion. Among the supporters of these schools we may cite Mr. Hawley, Poor Law Inspector for the South Western District. In a special report intended to confute the statements of witnesses before the Poor Relief Committee of 1861, he expresses his conviction of the excellence and sufficiency, as regards girls, of the training such schools afford; asserts that classification is adequately maintained (although in the same sentence he admits that girls work in association with adult paupers); dwells on the "inconvenience arising from the interference of ladies;" declares that "no benefit is derived from the Homes [such as Mrs. Way and other ladies have established, which will be hereafter described] which girls do not enjoy in workhouse schools;" and details at length his objections to these institutions, one of which is to the name itself. "The 'home,' as I take it, of young persons just entering on life," he informs us, with a courage in the avowal which at any rate we may admire, "is *the wide world* [the italics are our own] until such time as they can by their own industry and good conduct establish a dwelling for themselves; and helps of all descrip-

tions only neutralize the incentives to prudence and independence."[a] A schedule is appended to the Report, the aim of which is to prove alike the excellence and the success of the workhouse schools in Mr. Hawley's district. Although the results, as stated, are far from uniformly satisfactory, so large a majority of the children are said to do well, that we should accept them with thankfulness, could we but repose upon them with confidence,—only wishing in that case that localities with which we are practically acquainted could make as favourable a show. We find, however, that the statistics are supplied entirely by the officers of the unions concerned, who, however desirous to be truthful, cannot be regarded as impartial witnesses; and our trust, already trembling, is shaken to its foundations on comparing the following entry in the schedule, relating to Highworth and Swindon Union, "On the whole, I think the children of both schools have turned out very well," with a statement by the guardians of the same Union that a month or two later (namely, early in 1862), they adopted the plan of boarding their orphan

[a] Report of W. H. S. Hawley, Esq., Poor Law Inspector, to the Poor Law Board, Dec., 1861.

pauper girls in cottages, because those "brought up in the workhouse have as a rule turned out badly . . . in great numbers of instances returning to the house abandoned women, with bastards." [a]

[a] This important statement will be found at greater length in a subsequent part of our volume; together with our authority for it.

PAUPER CHILDREN APPRENTICED TO MANUFACTURERS.

WE proceed now to lay before our readers the various methods by which the more enlightened and farseeing of our guardians of the poor, have striven to raise the children entrusted to their care above the slough of pauperism. True, in the means we shall first describe—that of apprenticing juvenile paupers to manufacturers—the guardians delegate to others their power and opportunity; but the responsibility of selection rests upon them, and also, we hold, the moral duty of ascertaining that the charge they have transferred is righteously fulfilled; although legally, the children, if apprenticed in another union, no longer possess a settlement in that from which they have been sent.

Nearly ninety years ago a few workhouse children were taken as apprentices by a large manufacturer at L—— in the North of England,

and boarded in respectable families among his workpeople. Three years later, he greatly increased the number, and lodged them in an "Apprentice-house," a quarter of a mile from the mill, where about forty boys and fifty girls dwelt under the care of a man and his wife, called the master and mistress. A few children were received from orphan asylums, but the bulk were taken from workhouses, usually at nine or ten years of age,—with girls especially it was found undesirable to take them after ten or eleven. The healthiest-looking and best countenances were selected, and if, after a month or two of trial, they seemed likely to suit, they were apprenticed for six or eight years,—sometimes, even, to the age of twenty-one. No premium was paid with them, but they were expected to bring two suits of clothing. They received no wages, as the value of their labour during the latter years of their apprenticeship was required to compensate for their cost in the early portion; but when they could accomplish a certain amount of work, a small sum, as a reward, was laid by for them weekly, a little of which was sometimes given to them as pocket-money, but the chief accumulated to supply them with a fund on going out

into the world, and to procure any needful addition to the outfit of two suits provided by the millowner.

The children of each sex had distinct sleeping and sitting rooms, the door of communication being locked at night, but otherwise they mingled on a similar footing to that of brothers and sisters. They worked twelve hours daily in the mill,[a] and at home the boys had evening school, while the girls mended their clothes; each elder girl instructing one or two younger ones in this duty, as well as seeing that they prepared their lessons for Sunday School. Their food consisted of a large piece of bread before going to the mill; breakfast of oatmeal porridge with milk, treacle, or bread—a plentiful dinner of bacon or meat and vegetables, a slice of bread at five, and at night porridge or broth. "Growing children," said the mistress, "must be well fed," and she acted accordingly.

[a] This will doubtless strike the reader as excessive; and experience has now proved the advantage to employer as well as employed of fewer hours. But this was a discovery yet to be made at the date referred to; when, moreover, twelve hours' labour even for children was comparatively moderate, as in some factories they were required to work fifteen or sixteen hours in the day!

On Sundays, two of the elder girls stayed at home to cook and do the necessary house-work, both to set the servant at liberty and to learn something of domestic duties; while the rest of the children accompanied the master to morning church. In the afternoon all attended a Sunday school taught by the sons and daughters of the millowner; and in the evening they were present at a service conducted by one member of his family and attended by several.

The slice of bread that day was accompanied by cheese, forfeited, however, by those who had not polished their shoes bright for Sunday wear. Such simple and easily applied penalties saved much punishment and fault-finding.

The children were free to wander at pleasure in the fields (often bringing back bunches of wild flowers from their rambles,) in the intervals between church, school, and evening service. "Make natural calls for them to be at home frequent," observed their sagacious mistress, "and then they have not time to get into mischief." A peculiar dress afforded protection by marking the wearers as in Mr. ——'s employment, and consequently, objects of his kindly interest and protection; while it enabled the neighbours to

report at once any wrong-doing of which the children might be guilty.

Their employer himself examined every child once a year in reading, and there was also at Christmas a public prize-day,—previous to which he and the daughter who chiefly aided him in his benevolent schemes for the welfare of his apprentices, together with the manager of the mill, and the master and mistress of the Apprentice-house, sat in solemn council upon the moral and industrial character of each child;—the intellectual was not entirely neglected, but it was allowed very small weight in the estimate.

By this method, a child who was diligent in the mill but ill-tempered or unsteady at home, or kind and helpful in the house but idle or slovenly in the mill, had a balance struck in meting its reward, which, together with the comment accompanying the prize, had great effect in correcting the faults and cherishing the good qualities of its disposition.

The apprentices, both boys and girls, went to and from the mill together with the other village children, with whom they mixed on a perfect equality.

For more than 30 years over which our infor-

mant's close acquaintance with the working of the system extended, only two girls were guilty of immorality during their apprenticeship. After that period, more instances occurred, but not many, considering how entirely, and usually at the early age of eighteen, they were independent of control. This sudden and complete enfranchisement, after many years of restraint, is indeed spoken of as one of the drawbacks of the system, —but it is one at any rate shared by District Schools, where, indeed, it is still more to be deplored as occurring at a much earlier age. Some means of exercising a diminishing authority until the power of self-government is fully acquired, is much needed for the young people departing from our various institutions to earn their living, and to be consequently at their own disposal.

One of the lads who grew up in the Apprentice-house, and who now occupies a position of great responsibility and trust, tells us, that, of the 300 boys and girls who left the house within his recollection, all the latter married, with the exception of about three, their husbands being usually fellow-apprentices or villagers; and most of them have made good and thrifty wives. He

further states unhesitatingly his opinion that the apprentices he knew were not only better fed, clothed, and educated than the bulk of poor families in the neighbourhood, but they proved better and more intelligent workpeople than an equal number brought up at home by parents. About 2 per cent., he believes, entered the workhouse (sometimes only for a time), while, on the other hand, 3 per cent. rose to a superior station in life, becoming high class workmen, overseers, and even masters. The present population of the district sprang largely from the apprentices; and from their children excellent servants have gone to the families of three of the millowner's descendants. One of his daughters has recently placed some little orphans to board with a woman who was formerly an apprentice, and her clean house and motherly care of the bereaved children, speak well for her own upbringing. Another, whose ill-temper and untidiness had made her a nuisance in the Apprentice-house, was congratulated in her after married life upon the neatness of her children, and their regular attendance at school.—"Why," she exclaimed, rather indignantly, "did you think I was going to bring them up to be like myself!" Testimony

to the general prosperity of those brought up in the Apprentice-house is afforded by the fact that during the terrible distress of the cotton famine, only two applied for aid to the family of their former master.

The apprentices were under the medical care of the practitioner who attended their employer's family; their health was generally good, and the rate of mortality about 1 in 160 per annum.

Some 600 children had grown up in the Apprentice-house, and, as we have seen, been started in life, able to earn their living as members of the respectable working class, when the death of the master caused a change. His widow said she was sure the house would not go on satisfactorily without a man to share the management; but she was induced to try, and the boys were dismissed in the hope of rendering her task more easy. It was found, however, that their absence diminished still further the resemblance to family life; and one consequence was, that the elder girls became less steady. Before, if any of them behaved lightly they were sure to hear of it from the boys, who thus exercised a brother's check upon them. Other circumstances combining,—among which was the

outcry that followed the first Poor Law Commission, against the system of parish apprenticeship, generally only too well-founded, but which, nevertheless, caused many beneficent enterprizes to be swept away together with the horrors it condemned—the Apprentice-house was closed in 1835.

In the previous year, 1834, one of the sons of its founder, residing at N——, driven by the scarcity of labour, took a few parish apprentices into his employment, and pursued with them almost the same course his father had adopted. He has since sold his mill, but, desirous to continue the Apprentice-house—which has become also an industrial home for destitute orphans picked up in Liverpool—and, to retain it under the supervision of himself and his daughters, he has arranged that the children shall be still bound to himself although they work in the mill for his successor.

The inmates are limited to girls, and the number in the house is usually under twenty. About fifty have left since its establishment. Of these, two have become occasionally chargeable to the parish, and a third has turned out badly, and has been once or twice in the workhouse. Of the rest,

most are known to be respectably married or—equally respectable—to be working in mills or in domestic service; while the others are believed to be doing well. Their employer has never had any serious wrong to complain of among these young persons: they associate on equal terms with respectable working people, and are, in fact, absorbed into that class. During the cotton famine he allowed the girls then in the home to come by turns into his own house to be trained in domestic duties, and almost all of them have, on the expiration of their apprenticeship, been advantageously placed in service.

Previous to the experiment, begun in 1834, an Apprentice-house had existed on the same spot for forty years under other employers. It contained about sixty pauper children at a time, giving a total of some 300 apprentices. They gained a settlement in ——, and the consequent increase of pauperism was complained of. To what did it amount? From these 300 children a residuum, so to speak, was left of four or five permanent paupers, one of whom was an imbecile; while the remainder were completely emancipated from the pauper class, and some rose to positions of much trust and emolument.

Surely this would be considered a triumphant result in the most costly establishment for the training of pauper children; and it was achieved, —let it be remembered,—probably without one farthing of expense to the public for the successful children, beyond their little outfit of clothes.

And yet this was the least satisfactory of the three experiments we have described. The superior success of the other two, may, doubtless, be attributed to the personal interest and constant watchfulness of the employers and their families, whose names, were we permitted to give them, would be recognized as foremost in many a work of philanthropy and social progress. Where such aid can be obtained, we believe the regular employment and dispersion among *unpauper* workers, attainable by apprenticeship to manufacturers, affords a valuable outlet for workhouse children; but we are warned by the enlightened employers whose experience we have just related, that the numbers collected under one roof should be small, especially if located in a town, where many influences adverse to success are inevitable, and intensify the need for individualization.

It must not be concealed that Factory Homes,

as Apprentice-houses would now be called, are liable to fearful abuse, and cannot be safely left to those only mercenarily interested; the close supervision of some person of high social position, and whose benevolent feelings are enlisted in the enterprize is essential; and perhaps a considerable number even of such persons—as was afforded by the many children, and especially by the daughters of the mill-owners we have cited—are needed to maintain an intimate knowledge of each child, indispensable for the healthy development of its character.

The circumstance, too, that those mills were not large, and stood in a country village belonging chiefly to the owner, was highly favourable; while the state of the law formerly left employers free to exercise a despotic authority equal almost to the parental, which (though degenerating into fearful license in the hands of harsh or selfish masters) enabled the well-disposed to accomplish more for the happiness of their workpeople than is possible under the now existing legal restrictions.

Details of a similar experiment made within the last few years have been kindly communi-

cated to us by the wife of the millowner, a man of great benevolence and distinguished position. The idea did not originate with him, but with the Liverpool Guardians, who were at that time apprenticing many of their boys and girls to manufacturers needing juvenile labour :—

"About thirty came to us from time to time —and most of them when they came were thirteen or fourteen years old. We placed the boys and girls in separate homes, under the care of respectable people, and some few of them have done well—served out their time, and are now living in the village and maintaining themselves. But we are not encouraged to repeat the experiment — chiefly on these grounds: Most of the children proved very unhealthy—I do not mean exactly *delicate*, but liable to sores and diseases such as might naturally result from their miserable life and parentage, — and this was, of course, a constant source of anxiety and expense. And they were, decidedly, more difficult to deal with than ordinary children —more stubborn and less truthful ; while, to two or three of them, a settled life seemed so repugnant that they ran away several times. At the same time I have no doubt that wise and

careful individual treatment exercised in a spirit of patient love, might have done much for them,—but this is not easily provided. Indeed, I believe that in nine cases out of ten such apprentices would be far less favourably placed than they were with us—where they had excellent teaching and the most kindly care—of which we continue to receive pleasant recognitions from those who have left the village, all of whom, I must say, seem to consider it as a home.

"A few of the children were placed separately in the families of respectable working men, thinking they might get on better in a regular family life—but here we were met again by the difficulty of finding people able to manage them wisely. On the whole, we felt that the anxiety and responsibility of having the lives of such children wholly cast upon us was too great to be undertaken again. I should mention that the children in the Liverpool Workhouse are almost all Irish, and of the lowest class—which, of course, increased the difficulties of the attempt.

"I fear, however, that it would in any case be most difficult to make the employment of

workhouse children in mills a success both economically and morally. Unless it be the first, it will never be *generally* adopted by manufacturers—and unless it be the second, benevolent people could not, of course, promote it—yet, it does seem a pity that the children and the labour cannot be brought together in some satisfactory way."

At Braintree in Essex there are silk mills, which, through the wise philanthropy of their owners, the Messrs. Courtauld, have become a noble institution for promoting the moral and social well-being of the operatives. They were built by the father of the present head of the firm;—and to the latter we are indebted for the following information concerning the pauper apprentices with whose labour the enterprize was early in the century commenced. About forty, all girls, were received from London workhouses. "The household arrangements for the board and lodging of these pauper apprentice girls were, I believe, all very good; educational arrangements were combined with them under my father's own personal and zealous superintendence, and unbounded pains were taken—with almost constant disappointment—to obtain thoroughly

well-qualified matrons. I have no doubt it would be comparatively easy and certainly practicable to obtain competent matrons now for any similar establishments—and with such matrons presiding, the difficulties and objections connected with these establishments would be minimised. Nevertheless, the impression on my mind is very decidedly unfavourable."

The girls did not prove better workers than the outside hands, while the expense and responsibility to their employers was much greater. A serious difficulty arose, too, from the jealousy felt by the apprentices, of the outsiders, for the greater liberty these, of course, possessed. "The conditions of bondage," continues Mr. Courtauld, "inseparable from apprenticeship are—*per se*—bad, so bad that I think I should never have recourse to pauper apprentices excepting for a very short period, and with accompanying arrangements for employment of the children on a more voluntary principle after that short period of constrained service; and yet the difficulties of combining voluntary *service* with proper arrangements for the *living* of children separated from their parents, is seen in the failure of our

Factory Home, in which all the comforts and advantages it possessed weighed as nothing in the estimate of the parties themselves against the disadvantages of the social isolation in respect of the family life of the world outside. It was, as you know, conducted by a lady so exceptionally qualified to make it in all respects a good and happy home, as one would have said, would ensure its attraction and success if it were possible for the system to succeed; while, for all the comfort and accommodation and various means of social enjoyment, and economic appliances for their meals, &c., the inmates paid less than the ordinary rate for miserable and demoralizing town-lodgings."

The home here referred to, was opened by the Messrs. Courtauld in 1849 for the benefit of their unmarried workwomen of good character. It was one of the best houses in the town of Halstead, provided with every comfort, and the rules were made as little stringent as was compatible with propriety. Moreover the lady who presided over it was one whose ministrations for some years among the work-people had endeared her to all.

Yet out of between 200 and 300 work-women

eligible for admission there were never more than thirteen at a time who availed themselves of the privilege, and the number dwindling to two or three, the institution—after being kept open several years in the hope of its becoming better appreciated—was at length closed in despair. It was a costly but most instructive experiment, and showed not only the determination of the vast majority of these young women not to sacrifice even a minute portion of their freedom from control, in order to secure great material, and in some respects moral, advantages; but it revealed also the evils inseparable from an artificial mode of life, and resulted in convincing the superintendent that the inmates would have been morally better placed as boarders in real homes, however humble if also respectable—being thus restored to a share of genuine domestic life—than as lodgers in this charming residence, where, however, the mutual independence of family relations was wanting.

Other manufacturers in various parts of the country are still employing pauper apprentices in their mills; and we have been favoured with information by the Messrs. Whitworth, worsted

spinners of Luddenden Foot, near Manchester, respecting thirty-four children taken by them from the Bristol workhouse under very ample and stringent conditions imposed by the guardians, to ensure the welfare of the apprentices. The Messrs. Whitworth appear to have fulfilled these conditions, not only to the letter but in spirit also, though we are at a loss to see what means exist for enforcing them, should the employer fail in performing his part of the bargain. At Luddenden buildings were erected, and fitted with a hot and cold bath and other comforts for the children, and a person was engaged to take care of them; their maintenance, exclusive of clothing and supervision, cost from five to six shillings a week, and they were permitted, after the first few months, to earn by overwork from one shilling to two shillings and sixpence per week—which they were induced, as far as possible, to put into the Savings Bank, so that some, at the termination of their apprenticeship, had several pounds to draw out. The greater number fulfilled their apprenticeship—many of the boys being instructed in useful trades—and about two-thirds of the whole have continued since its expiry to work for the

Messrs. Whitworth or for their immediate neighbours. One of the girls induced four more members of her family to follow her from the Bristol workhouse, who now live together and are all in the Messrs. Whitworth's employment.

Of those who have departed, many are believed to have returned to relatives, and to be doing well; a few of the boys have been heard of in prison, but, as far as is known, none of the girls have fallen into vice.

The children were found, at first, difficult to deal with, but have proved, on the whole, "as useful, intelligent, and desirable work-people as those born and brought up in the neighbourhood." They have, however, also proved much more costly, and the Messrs. Whitworth are of opinion that it entails serious money-loss to take such children under thirteen years old. Yet they are aware of the advantage to both parties of receiving them at an earlier age, while yet docile and uninitiated into evil. To render such an arrangement practicable, they suggest that guardians should be empowered to contribute to the maintenance of the children until they be thirteen.

We have reason to believe that lads appren-

ticed within the last few years from the Swinton School are with rare exceptions doing well; especially those apprenticed as coal-getters to the Trustees of the Bridgewater Collieries, in whose employment they are duly cared for.

A SEPARATE SCHOOL.

To show what may be accomplished by a good Separate School, we give the history of the Children's Establishment at Limehouse, as the school for Stepney Union is called. Our narrative is gathered in part from the Report of the Poor Law Commission 1841, and the subsequent reports of Inspectors—but we are also deeply indebted for information to the kindness of Mr. John Charrington, the present chairman of the Stepney Board of Guardians, who afforded himself, or procured from the able Governor of the Children's Establishment, answers to every question we chose to put; while at his suggestion we have also had the advantage of making personal and searching inquiry from a student at one of the Diocesan Training Colleges, who, coming to Limehouse an orphan at eight years old, remained there until qualified to enter the College.

Twenty-eight years ago, this institution was found to be in a very unsatisfactory state. The boys had dwelt in the workhouse with the adult male paupers, and lying, cheating and stealing were declared to be their chief characteristics; while the girls, although they had sometime previously been separated from the women, displayed equally with the lads, selfishness, stubbornness, and great coarseness of language and demeanour, together with the lack of any spirit of self-dependence.

The then Chairman of the Union, Mr. George Frederick Young, and the Visiting Committee, threw themselves with zeal upon the task of reform. The children were removed to their present location in Church Lane, Limehouse, nearly a mile distant from the Workhouse. The services were secured of a governor and a schoolmaster and mistress, not only efficient in themselves, but who worked harmoniously together; an ample staff of subordinate officers was appointed, and—most important of all, perhaps—every pauper servant was dismissed. The guardians, though exercising close supervision, having confidence in their officers, avoided interference, giving them both power and re-

sponsibility. Besides the usual school-instruction, the boys were taught shoemaking, tailoring, carpentering, and spinning; the girls laundry and house-work, besides a variety of sewing and knitting.

It had been the practice to send some of the lads to sea, and a premium of £10 was offered to any employer who would have them,—but it was found that this plan attracted the masters of the lowest class of fishing smacks, who took the children for the sake of the money, and often so ill-treated them, that they would, if possible, abscond, thus relapsing into pauperism, or even sinking into crime.

The guardians determined, therefore, to erect the masts, rigging, &c., of a full-sized ship in the school-yard, and, engaging a seaman to drill and train the boys, they soon became so expert as to be sought in larger numbers than can be supplied, by the captains of high-class trading vessels. These, moreover, need no premium; so that though the ship cost the guardians more than £100, its purchase has proved a most economical measure. All these boys are taught to swim, and latterly they have been practised in rowing and the management of a boat.

Much attention is paid to music, both instrumental and vocal. The whole school learn singing, but admission to the highest class is a much coveted reward for good conduct. The members, boys and girls, practise together weekly, and some attend the choral festivals at the Crystal Palace. Eight or nine years ago, a band was established, which has been the means of preparing a large number of the boys for engagements in the army and navy. Referring to them, a Captain in the Royal Navy writes, "It is but an act of justice to the little fellows to say that their conduct has been quite exemplary;" and similar testimony is afforded by others. One young man has lately obtained an appointment as regimental bandmaster at a salary of upwards of £150 per annum.

An annual excursion—when, in fine summer weather, teachers and children, packed into vans, go far away into the country for a long day of enjoyment—affords a powerful incentive to good behaviour throughout the year. A record is kept of the children's conduct in good and bad marks, which are summed up before the treat takes place, and should the bad exceed a certain proportion, the unfortunate owner is left at home—

a circumstance, however, that, considering the high character the children bear, cannot, it is to be hoped, often occur.

Bad temper, especially among the "Casuals," (*i.e.*, children who attend during the temporary sojourn in the workhouse of their parents) is common, but serious moral offences are rare; and the prevailing spirit appears to be so strongly on the side of right, that misconduct, even only the use of coarse words, in an individual, is at once checked by the rest. The children attend the parish church, and when out walking often receive gifts of money, which, with certain restrictions, they are allowed to spend. Toys and other little possessions of the girls are kept in a general cup-board, to which all have access, but thefts from one another seldom occur. Those pupils who have parents in Stepney workhouse visit them there; but only once in three months, and accompanied by their nurse or teacher. It is a melancholy fact that, too often, such parents are their children's worst enemies; and the guardians have acted wisely in recognizing it, and in diminishing to the utmost any opportunity for the exercise of evil influence.

The class of children who enter workhouse schools are usually extremely filthy, their heads are infested with vermin, and their skins with disease; and as it too often happens, that even after a residence of many years they are still in this disgraceful state, it is obvious that the necessary pains have not been taken to cleanse them thoroughly, or that they have been permitted to become foul again by contact with new-comers. At Limehouse this shameful condition of things—very difficult, however, we admit to overcome where casuals mingle at once with permanent pupils—is obviated by detaining the children on entrance, in a probationary ward, until they are perfectly clean. After this period the elder children bathe once weekly and the younger twice. They have an abundance of plain food and frequent exercise in the open air. The boys' play-ground is provided with gymnastic apparatus, but that for the girls has none, which we think is to be regretted. Their general health is good, and the annual death-rate only 1·73 per cent., although the children are admitted as young as at two years of age, and none are excluded on account of disease,—fever and small-pox only excepted.

The girls are prepared chiefly for domestic service, but with them, as with boys, any showing a marked aptitude for the scholastic profession are trained for it—being made pupil teachers and sent subsequently to college. Several are now masters and mistresses of schools, in receipt of good salaries. The young people, when placed out, are encouraged to write to the officers and to re-visit the school frequently, when they relate their troubles to the superintendents, who give friendly advice, privately pointing out any fault on the young person's side; if there is ground for thinking ill-treatment has been practised, searching investigation is at once made. They are visited in their situations periodically by the relieving officer, and, what is still better, occasionally by their teachers, whose knowledge of their dispositions enables them to judge more accurately of their welfare. When out of place (unless guilty of flagrant wrong-doing) they are allowed, until they are grown up, to return to the schools. A few young women who have, after that period needed such help, have been placed in Miss Twining's Industrial Home. The total number

of children dealt with during twenty-eight years, have been

Admitted, ...	12058.
Discharged, ...	11317.

while the average number in the schools have been 230 boys, and 201 girls. Of those placed out by the authorities, 98 per cent. of the boys and 94 per cent. of the girls are *known not* to have entered the workhouse subsequently, and there is good reason to believe that almost all of these are doing well.

The children who have remained but a few months in the school, and, leaving with their parents, have been provided with occupation by them, are also believed to conduct themselves, as a rule, satisfactorily.

In seeking the source of a success so far above that ordinarily attained in pauper schools, we find several causes to which we think it may be attributed. Among these is the large staff of paid officers, viz. 34, the higher among whom have been many years in the establishment, and enjoying the confidence of their employers, throw themselves heartily into their work. The variety and interest of the occupations for which

the boys are trained, and the thoroughness of their teaching, open a wide field of industry to their choice, and enable them to take a comparatively high position immediately on leaving the school. The careful preparation of the girls for domestic service secures for them good situations; while the frequent intercourse maintained between them and their former teachers, and especially the permission to return to the school when out of place, both saves them from the corrupting influence of the adult ward, and prevents their sinking under the blighting sense of being friendless and homeless at the very age when sympathy and protection are most needed. Another and potent reason for the success of the Limehouse School lies in the warm interest in its welfare evinced by the chairman and guardians, whose frequent visits imbue the children with the feeling that they are their friends, and inspire the wish to do credit to their benevolent care, not only at the public examinations of the School, but in after-life, when the conduct of the pupils tests the education they have received.

DISTRICT SCHOOLS.

IN the formation of Unions under the new Poor Law, it was originally proposed that different classes of paupers should be received in the different workhouses governed by one Board of Guardians,—and the Poor Law Commissioners, in their first Annual Report, quote the favourable opinion of Mr. Clark, overseer of Chenies, respecting the children to whom the workhouse of that parish had been thus appropriated,—and whose well-being he ascertained by constant observation. They were thirty-five in number—all orphans or deserted—under the care of a man and his wife, and frequently visited by ladies of the neighbourhood. It is deeply to be deplored that an arrangement which would have entirely separated this class of juvenile paupers from the contaminating influence both of adults and of the casual children, without assembling them in numbers too large for individualization, was

not at that early period adopted. Many thousands, now utterly degraded, might instead have become invaluable members of the State. An analagous proposal, as regards locating the young people in vacant workhouses, was made when the establishment was urged of District Schools, which were to receive, in a building devoted to them only, the children of several unions. Both suggestions, however, missed general adoption.

District Schools were strongly recommended by Dr. Kay (now Sir James Kay Shuttleworth) on the ground, among others, that no child should be degraded by associating with paupers, since he is not one through any fault of his own,—an argument which has since been eloquently put forward by Miss Carpenter.[a] He described the useful industrial training obtained by the labourer's child, simply by assisting its parents, and desired that the District School should, as far as possible, afford the same, combined with intellectual instruction and moral discipline. Experience had not then shown that the self-reliance, mutual helpfulness and knowledge of

[a] "On the Education of Pauper Girls," by Mary Carpenter, *Social Science Transactions.* 1862.

common things, which are inseparable from family life, cannot be obtained in the same degree by any artificial substitute, however skilfully framed, and are necessarily almost entirely absent from institutions in which many hundred children are dealt with in masses. The evil of such aggregation is, in great measure, overcome by dividing the young people into small groups occupying distinct dwellings, as at the Rauhe Haus and many other German institutions, Mettray, Redhill, and the most successful reformatory schools in the United States; but, even in these, the sexes are, more or less, separated, and the moral influence they are designed to exercise over each other is almost lost. The importance of their association, however, especially when at play, was one of the many essentials in the treatment of children, fully recognised and ably advocated by Dr. Kay, in his contribution to these valuable Reports.

One of the most successful, perhaps, of these institutions, which Dr. Kay was largely instrumental in establishing, was the School of Industry, opened under the old Poor Law about 1821, and removed in 1856 to Hanwell, where,

known now as the Central London District School, 1,600 children can be received. It was originally a "contractor's establishment" (*i.e.*, the children were farmed), containing about 1,100 of all ages under fifteen, in the hands of a Mr. Aubin, who appears to have consulted their welfare as far as the guardians of the respective parishes whence they came, would permit, though their condition was far from satisfactory. In 1838 the Poor Law Commissioners undertook its reform. The Rev. Joseph Brown was appointed chaplain, to whom a letter of instruction was addressed by the Commissioners, revealing their thoughtful and anxious care for the moral and spiritual welfare of his young flock; the children were broken into groups of forty or fifty (an arrangement which, we regret to learn, is now only retained in the schoolroom), teachers were obtained from the Training School at Glasgow, well-weighed and elaborate arrangements were made for intellectual instruction and industrial training, and within twelve months Dr. Kay reports a marked improvement in the conduct and aspect of the inmates. Mr. Aubin had cordially co-operated in these reforms; while his own

arrangements for the physical well-being of the children raised the school in sanitary matters to almost unexampled excellence. Although the pupils were of the lowest and most diseased London type, and none were refused admission, even when suffering from the foulest or most contagious maladies, the death-rate was only 2 per cent.—the average mortality for London, calculated on children *of all classes* of corresponding age, amounting to 12 per cent! Frequent bathing in *warm* water, the instant removal of soiled garments, and immediate attention to the slightest symptom of indisposition were, in addition to good food, pure air, and a wholsome dwelling, the means by which he obtained this remarkable degree of health. This singularly low death-rate has been still further lessened, for in 1866 there were only six deaths on an average population of nearly 900; no case of cholera occurred, and even the cattle shared the general health, for, while hundreds round about were cut off by rinderpest, not one was lost at the school.[a] Thankfulness to God is expressed for this merciful exemption—thanks which may be righteously

[a] Chaplain's Report, 1866.

offered by those who have dutifully employed the means appointed by the Almighty for keeping pestilence away.

The girls' health and their parents permitting) are invariably sent to service, and within the last few years, at the instance of the present chaplain, the Rev. Samuel Valentine Edwards, the guardians have allowed those under sixteen who have lost their places, but are not morally faulty, to return to the school instead of entering the workhouse—a boon hardly to be overestimated. They are never placed out under fourteen years of age, and from that time supervision is maintained over them by official visits twice a year from the Chaplain, until they are sixteen, when "a pauper child is an adult." Mr. Edwards, who has occupied his present important post for thirteen years, assures us that cases of dishonesty have been very few; and he cannot recall so many as ten having come to his knowledge, or appearing in the reports of the Rescue Society, of girls who have fallen into vice: some of these, too, have since been reclaimed.

Gratifying as these facts are, it must yet be remembered that the authorities not only lose

control over these young people, but frequently lose sight of them also, at the most critical period of their lives; and that, as regards the vast majority of pupils from pauper schools, it is found impossible to ascertain their ultimate fate.

Of the numbers of those who eventually seek a home in the workhouse an approximate estimate may indeed be formed; though by not giving their true name, they may, if not personally recognized, prevent, if they choose, identification. Yet a return by the Poor Law Board, is quoted by the *Times* [a] as giving the following unsatisfactory percentage of persons who, having passed two consecutive years in Workhouse or District Schools, were known to have subsequently found their way into the workhouse.

BOYS EDUCATED IN WORKHOUSE SCHOOLS.

	per cent.
Re-entered the Workhouse by reason of their own misconduct,	5·7
Re-entered the Workhouse from other causes,	8·6
Total,	14·3

BOYS EDUCATED IN DISTRICT SCHOOLS.

Re-entered the Workhouse by reason of their own misconduct,	3·
Re-entered the Workhouse from other causes,	8·6
Total,	11·6

[a] *Times*, April 2d, 1862.

GIRLS EDUCATED IN WORKHOUSE SCHOOLS.

Re-entered the Workhouse by reason of their own misconduct, ...	12·6
Re-entered the Workhouse from other causes, . .	13·3
Total,	25·9

GIRLS EDUCATED IN DISTRICT SCHOOLS.

Re-entered the Workhouse by reason of their own misconduct, ...	10·3
Re-entered the Workhouse from other causes, . .	17·
Total,	27·3

Hence we find that the education bestowed upon her children by the State is known as regards about 13 per cent. of the boys, and more than 26 per cent. of the girls, to have failed to raise them above pauperism; how many besides have sunk into crime the means do not exist for informing us.

These statistics may profitably be further examined. The expensive training of the district school is so far satisfactory, as regards the boys, that the failures are fewer than of those brought up in the workhouse schools; but as regards the girls the balance of success is against the more costly establishment. The fact, however, that a smaller percentage drift thither by reason of their own misconduct, testifies favourably to the education given in the

district schools; and so, perhaps—paradoxical as it may appear—does the circumstance that the number is larger who seek its shelter through no fault of their own. "The very fact," as the Rev. S. V. Edwards justly remarks, "that the orphan girl out of place will rather seek a temporary home at a workhouse than live, as too many do, on the wages of sin, is an indirect testimony of the moral training she has received at school."[a] But how the incompetency is thus proved of district schools to supply the friendly supervision, and, when needed, the shelter which young servants must at times require!

The numbers in the Central London School have recently much increased, and are now (May, 1867) upwards of 1,200. A whole army of officers have them in their charge. Above eighty persons, exclusive of pupil teachers, are engaged in the care and instruction of the children, and a well-paid staff (not a pauper, we rejoice to say, being employed in the institution) is appointed to every department. The expense of so extensive and elaborate an establishment

[a] "Suggestions respecting the Orphan Children now in Workhouses and Workhouse Schools." London: Dalton & Lucy. 1863.

is inevitably large, amounting, in fact, to about £28[a] for each child per annum.

Visitors are, we believe, invariably pleased by the neatness, order, and discipline everywhere apparent. These are excellent in their way, and tend to create an *esprit de corps* which is in some measure a substitute for the bond of family affection; but they must not be permitted to destroy individuality, and the limits within which they can be safely employed are soon reached. Enforced uniformity in every detail of daily life, however important, or however trifling, among creatures varying in mind as much as in body, though seductive to the disciplinarian, is blighting to those subjected to its laws. Undoubtedly some mysterious charm affects the beholder in witnessing many hundreds of children, dressed alike,

[a] At the five other existing district schools the annual cost per head is, respectively,—

	£	s.	d.
South Metropolitan, . . .	18	15	2
North Surrey, ...	16	2	1
Farnham and Hartley Wintney, .	11	5	10
Reading and Wokingham, . .	12	4	0
South-east Shropshire (Quatt), .	13	10	5

Eighteenth Annual Report of the Poor-Law Board.

acting in unison, and rendering instant obedience to the word of command; but, even amid the tears that dim our eyes when their young voices, implicitly following a sign from their teacher, join in the merry song or evening hymn, we are constrained to ask how will individuality of character develope itself from this complete subjection to the will of others, from this routine of duty, which leaves open no temptation to wrong and annihilates the choice of right? Yet, without such individuality, can moral beauty or strength exist? That to the officers the working of their vast machine, composed of elements originally so rude and discordant as the off-scourings of London, should be a source of gratification, we cannot marvel; and, were their pupils always to remain *in situ*, we might, perhaps, allow ourselves to indulge an almost unmixed admiration of the success of their patient and devoted labours. But we know, alas! that each component part will be wrenched, while hardly beyond childhood, from the support of companions and the protection of teachers; and painful distrust arises of the capacity of each poor little unit—nay, each poor little *nought* rather, for it has never learnt to stand

alone—to keep itself from falling in the battle of life. Some show, indeed, is made by the State of stretching her ægis over these, her children. For two years after they depart from the School they are, as we have seen, visited twice in the year by the chaplain, who minutely inquires, ascertains, and registers, their employer's opinion of their conduct. But, if to the discharge of this official duty be added, as doubtless they are, all the anxious and friendly questions which would suggest themselves to a benevolent and conscientious pastor, what effective supervision can a biennial visit exercise over these children? And even this amount of surveillance ceases when its object attains the age of sixteen. Our laws, which appoint twenty-one as the earliest period at which self-government shall be entrusted to those who usually are still surrounded by relatives able to counsel and protect them, declares that the friendless pauper orphan is competent to the task five years earlier, when often it has its whole experience of the world to learn, and the fiery ordeal to sustain of passions just beginning to awake!

A review of the means employed for training

pauper children in this country would indeed be incomplete without a reference to the South Shropshire District School, at Quatt, near Bridgnorth; its high character has, however, rendered it so well-known that a very brief account will suffice for our present purpose.

This institution owes its origin to the late Mr. Wolrych Whitmore, who, in 1836, induced his fellow guardians to open an industrial or "labour" school, for the children of Bridgnorth Union. It was established on his own estate, and remained until his death the object of his constant interest and care. It began on a small scale with about 40 children of both sexes. The boys cultivated the land and managed the farm-stock. These, to be sure were in 1837 represented by a quarter of an acre, and two pigs, but have gradually increased to twelve acres, a horse, four cows, and many pigs, the profits from which, for the half-year ending March 1867, amounted to £27 7s 2d; and, for the corresponding period ending March 1866, when swine were more valuable, to £43 4s. 4d. The rougher housework is performed by the boys; while the girls do the rest, and wash, sew, and knit for all. In 1851 the institution was formed into a district school for the Unions of Bridgnorth,

Cleobury Mortimer, Madeley, and Seisdon; and the children of foreign unions are also admitted.[a] The building is registered for 220, but the average number present is from 160 to 170. There are twelve officers, including the chaplain and medical attendant. The superintendent is also schoolmaster, so that there is no clashing of authority, an arrangement to which the satisfactory tone of the institution is largely attributed. Three male and one female "industrial trainers" are employed, but no servants; nor are there any pauper assistants. Thus the children perform all the work of the establishment; and, as the elder tend the little ones, not only is the cost of a nurse saved, but one of the most valuable features of family life is maintained.

In school the elder boys and girls are taught in one room, and the younger children in another. There are separate play grounds for the sexes, but all take their meals together. Some of the boys are apprenticed to trades, others become gentlemen's servants; all the girls go to service. Here, as at every institution where any degree of domestic training is given,

[a] Mr. C. Jelinger Symons, General Report; Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1857.

there are abundance of applicants for the children; and it is believed that a large proportion do well. As no record, however, is kept, tracing their subsequent career, this cannot be stated positively; and the fact that a child losing its place after its first year of service (during which it is allowed to return to the school) must, if it has no home of its own, enter the workhouse, renders it too likely that, in those instances at least, the care and cost of their education are frequently thrown away. Much effort, however, is made by the conductors of the school to maintain a friendly connexion between it and the young people, after they have departed. Very many visit it at holiday time; they are encouraged to write to their teachers; and their letters reveal strong attachment, and a grateful sense of the benefits received at the school.

The average weekly cost of the children is about five shillings, deducting the receipts from Government and the Farm; the total annual cost per head is £13 10s. 5d. Mr. Symons, however, stated with a view to establishing similar schools elsewhere, that "the expenses at Quatt might be very much reduced, wherever suitable buildings

exist which could be rented for the purpose;" remarking, "so long as the essential requirements for the health of the inmates are observed, the rougher and homelier they are the better."

The school owes a deep debt of gratitude to its originator, Mr. Wolrych Whitmore, to whose unwearied and enlightened supervision must be attributed much of its success; another element of which may be found in the excellence of the superintendents whose services the guardians have had the good fortune to secure. That success, however, is far more marked as regards the male than the female pupils,—solely, we are convinced, because the system itself is unsuited to the sex of the latter, notwithstanding that at Quatt the numbers are comparatively limited, the treatment is to a certain extent individual, and the arrangements in some degree resemble those of family life. "I believe," writes the present superintendent, "that girls are much more difficult to manage and train in large numbers than boys are. The system of congregating boys (not criminal) in moderately large numbers is not, I think, injurious, but my opinion with regard to girls is different."

THE "NORWICH HOMES."

An article in the *Friend of the People*[a] entitled "Prevention better than Reformation," quoting the startling fact that in one penitentiary in Bristol there had recently been found twenty inmates who had been brought up in workhouses, and urging Poor Law Guardians to pursue a different mode of education for pauper children than that which, in the words of a constant visitor to the London prisons, "only trains up and turns out victims for the streets and inmates for the gaols," called forth two letters[b] from the Rev. J. C. Brown, Chaplain of the Norwich workhouse, in which he described the course adopted by that Board. In 1845, the guardians, impressed with the evils to which the children were exposed in their workhouse (since rebuilt, a medieval building, ill adapted to its present use, and in which classification

[a] March 27, 1852. [b] Ibid. April 24 and May 5, 1852.

was impossible, removed (at the suggestion, we believe, of their medical officer, Mr. Johnson) a few of the elder boys to a separate house, where they lodged under the care of the schoolmaster, while they worked for various employers in the city. Their board and clothing continued to be provided by the guardians, who in return received their wages. The feeling that they had *money worth* proved morally invigorating to the lads; while the arrangement scattered them among the industrial population, so that, when they grew up and left the Home, they had already gained a position in the world. The marked improvement in these lads led the guardians in 1850 to remove the elder girls to a similar home outside the city, where industrial training is made the chief object. In 1853 the school boys were likewise taken out of the workhouse, and located with those earning wages, in a convenient building; and from that date only casual girls and infants have been retained in the house. In reporting upon the Homes in 1855, Mr. Bowyer, School Inspector, stated that while the Norwich workhouse had been "to the children especially inevitable ruin," the condition of these was now

"as high above as it was previously below that of the corresponding classes in other Unions." But great difficulties had been encountered. The boys at first stole everything they could lay their hands upon in the garden and orchard; yet the effect of a mode of life appealing constantly to their better feelings was such, that honesty in the minutest details became the rule, and they declared they would not have a thief among them "to disgrace the Home." "A forcible instance of the beneficial influence which the home-life exercises upon the boys' character is seen in the intercourse which exists between them and the master's daughter, who assists her father in the day and evening school, accompanies them to church, &c., and takes a great share in the arrangements for their domestic comfort. She is a gentle, intelligent girl, about sixteen years of age, and rules these once rude, coarse, uncontrollable boys with a silken cord. Nor ought this to be looked upon as an adventitious circumstance. The mental elevation or degradation of both sexes is chiefly dependent upon early impressions, and therefore in all legislation for the training of boys of whatever class, the value of a pure, righteous, and judi-

cious intercourse with women, both old and young, should be recognised, and as far as possible provided for. The worst form of pauperism exists in the offspring of depravity; but boys accustomed to depend upon the care and kindness of pure-minded women for their daily comforts, are soon brought to value the decencies of life, and to respect and imitate those who practise them."[a]

The results of these *Preventatories*, to use the apt designation employed by Mr. Brown, are thus stated by him:—"After fifteen years' experience, of the boys' home, of 125 lads placed out from it nine had died, one was idiotic, one had emigrated, sixteen had been lost sight of, but ninety-eight were known to be in respectable employment, and some of them in a comparatively high social position. Of 80 girls discharged during ten years from the Home but twelve had at any time re-entered the workhouse, and of these only six were permanent paupers, one of them being a lunatic, and one afflicted with epilepsy. Of the remaining sixty-eight all were in service or

[a] "Norwich Pauper Homes," by the Chaplain. *Workhouse Visiting Journal*, July, 1860.

other employment, or married or living with their parents, except three who had turned out badly." Let us contrast this return with that of those other 80 girls from a London workhouse, *all* of whom were found to be on the streets!

Pecuniarily the success was not inferior. The annual average cost of an inmate of Norwich workhouse was £12 16s. 8¾d. In the Girl's Home it was £12 12s. 2¾d.; while the wages earned by the elder boys, amounting to considerably more than £100 a year, brought down the average cost per head in their Home to £10 19s. 1¾d. The whole saving on the workhouse rate during the five years ending 1859 was £629 18s. 4d.

Strange to say, in the face of results so satisfactory, a rumour went abroad that the Homes were to be closed, and subsequently it was generally believed this unmerited fate had befallen them. In March of the present year, however, we rejoiced to learn from the Rev. Henry Symonds, of Norwich, that they are still flourishing. Each, he informs us, will contain 40 inmates, restricted to orphans or deserted children, in receipt of parish relief, but not necessarily having entered the workhouse; they

are admitted between the ages of eight and twelve, and remain until they are fifteen. Many of the boys after their departure correspond with the master. They are regarded favourably in the city, and a large proportion do well. The children having parents in the workhouse, and infants of all classes, are still retained there.

Of the girls further information has been kindly communicated by the matron who prepared the Home for its inmates in 1850, and has remained ever since at its head. Since 1860 (to which date Mr. Brown's narrative comes down) eighty-six girls have been admitted, of whom thirty-seven are now inmates. Of the rest, four (afflicted when they came) returned to the workhouse from ill health; two have died; three, whose conduct was unsatisfactory, have re-entered the workhouse of their own accord, and have proved thoroughly bad. The remaining thirty-nine are doing well; Thus, in ten years, the total of moral failures has been four. Situations with superior employers are readily found, and, with the matron's aid, children changing their places usually pass direct from one to another; but, in case of an interval occur-

ring, they are, if respectable in character, permitted to spend it at the Home. The girls at service in the City the matron occasionally visits, and with those at a distance she corresponds. No servant is kept in the Home, the girls doing the whole of the house-work. They knit their stockings, cut out, make, and mend their clothes, and also receive daily three hours' school instruction. The evening affords time for harmless recreation, which probably has no less wholesome an effect than the busy occupation of the day.

INDUSTRIAL HOMES.

THE friendless position of orphans in work-houses has suggested the establishment of small Industrial Homes for their reception in various parts of the country. The first of these was founded by Mrs. Way at Brockham (near the Betchworth Station, on the South-Eastern Railway) in Surrey. It has been fully described, and with strong commendation, in various periodicals, among which may be mentioned the *Friend of the People*, *All the Year Round* for October, 1862, and *The Monthly Packet* for February, 1867; and Annual Reports are issued, the candid tone of which, neither under-rating difficulties nor over-estimating success, carries conviction of the wisdom of the managers. Its purpose is so to train orphan girls dependent on parochial relief, as to fit them to earn their livelihood in respectable service; and almost all its inmates have been

the legitimate children of industrious parents, who had maintained them by their labour during their lives. The demand for good servants is ever increasing, while the supply, from various causes, diminishes. Mr. Stephen Cave, alluding to this fact at one of the annual meetings of the institution, said he had recently heard of an application from one of the colonies for cooks, being forwarded to Cornwall whence servants were generally procured, to which the answer was, "Cooks! we could as easily send elephants!"

Mrs. Way lays great stress on the boon to be conferred on employers as well as on the poor children themselves, by converting them into skilful servants. With this view, she has them prepared to take the places of under-house and lady's-maids, laundry-maids and kitchen-maids, and then, as far as possible, selects for them service in a household, whose mistress will care for their moral welfare, and in which they will be under a respectable head servant in their several departments, so that they become, in time, competent to fill superior places themselves. True, there is usually an ample demand for girls even taken directly from the workhouse,

but generally it is to be the over-worked drudge of an over-worked mistress, who has neither time nor knowledge to instruct her little maid-of-all-work, nor thought to spare for keeping her out of temptation, or counselling her in any moral difficulty. Nor should it be concealed that these friendless girls, about whom inquiry is unlikely to be made, are not infrequently sought for the worst purposes—disguised, indeed, under the offer of domestic service.

Mrs. Way's Home was opened on the 1st Feb., 1859, on a very small scale; namely, with two girls, in a cottage containing six rooms. Soon afterwards, to enable guardians to pay for the children they sent thither, it was certified under the Industrial School's Act; but this, among several inconveniences, gave it, in some degree, the character of a reformatory institution, which it was desirable to avoid; and Mrs. Way exerted herself to obtain an Act under which her own and similar institutions could be certified by the Poor Law Board, and voluntary and parochial aid be thus harmoniously combined. This she accomplished in 1862, when the Pauper Education Bill having been brought into the House of Commons by Sir Stafford Northcote,

and carried through the Upper House by Lord Devon, became law, and is technically known as the 25 and 26 Vict. Cap. 43.

The Brockham Home, with its new certificate, has increased in usefulness, and from the last Report we learn that "88 girls have been admitted, the greater number of whom are now useful members of society, as domestic servants, giving satisfaction to their employers." Of these, five are earning from £12 to £18 a year; and of thirty-three the wages vary from £6 to £12. They are thoroughly unpauperized; so much so, that it is not known to their fellow-servants that they were ever dependent on the parish. Some of them, indeed, were sent by the guardians direct to Brockham Home on the death of their parents, and thus did not even enter the Workhouse. Of the others, the characteristics too often are dulness of apprehension, ill-temper, a want of self-respect, and negligence as regards the care of property,—the usual and, perhaps, inevitable consequences of ordinary workhouse life. But these faults yield before individual treatment, the pleasures and duties of family life, (for it is a leading object to render the institution a home in truth as well as in

name); and still more, under the genial influence of strong personal attachment towards the ladies who devote their time to the institution, and especially to one not far removed in age from the girls themselves.

The number in the Home seldom much exceeds twenty. The age at which the children were first received was twelve and upwards; Mrs. Way, has, however, found it expedient to reduce it to eleven. They remain two or three years under training; and the annual cost per head is £17. Washing and sewing are taken in, and some money is earned by bread and cake making. In winter, soup also is made for sale at a low price to the neighbouring poor.

A savings bank has been established for the deposits of the young people in service, and a very considerable sum is accumulating there. To a department for the reception of the girls, (under twenty years of age), when ill or out of place,—unless for serious faults, in which case they are otherwise provided for—Mrs. Way attributes even more importance than to the training given in the Home. A cottage near to it is appropriated to this purpose, and has proved an unspeakable blessing to those it shelters; a

shilling a week is all they pay for their accommodation.

Although it does not suit the character of the Home to receive pupils under eleven, experience has shown the importance of removing them from the workhouse at a much earlier age; and *Nursery Homes*, Mrs. Way suggests, might easily be set on foot in connexion with village schools; the guardians, we presume, contributing to the support of the children.

A lady who has founded a Home in Wiltshire, similar to that at Brockham, describes its origin in these words.—"A little girl, previously known to me as having been brought up in the workhouse school, one day ran after me in the street, crying out, 'Please ma'am, will you send me to the Penitentiary?' I knew *that* was not the place for her, poor child. She was not a bad one although in all probability she would soon become like too many of her fellow-paupers, ruined for want of proper care and protection. To find a safe refuge where she would be kindly treated was the only idea of the poor child. I made my way into her room, and ascertained that it was true. She had been brought up in

the wretched situation she was in as maid-of-all-work from the unkind treatment she had received; she had no clothes but those she had on, which were thread-bare and ragged; she was an orphan, and had no home to turn to, no friend to care for her! This appeal, with the knowledge that there were others in similar circumstances, made me anxious that some effort should be made to aid such helpless ones, and the result was that, before long, a Home was opened into which this poor girl was received, with three others."

This was in 1860. The children are generally admitted when twelve or thirteen, and many remain until their sixteenth year. They are instructed in different branches of domestic work, and most who have been placed out are good and steady servants. They maintain frequent intercourse with the Home by correspondence and occasional visits. The anniversary of its opening is made a happy holiday, and an address upon that occasion from the clergyman to whom the girls owe their religious instruction, is found to impress their minds beneficially. The cost of the institution is moderate, and a portion of the children's main-

tenance is defrayed by payments from guardians. The whole expenditure for the first six years of its existence, including furniture (but not the price of the dwelling, which was a gift), was under £796; and taking the annual expenditure of the last four years, with an average attendance of ten girls, the cost, per head, is under £14, of which more than a fifth has been paid by their earnings by industrial work. It is considered essential they should feel they are contributing to their own support, and washing and needle-work are made chief objects in their training. They are provided with a good outfit on going to service, and usually repay ten shillings of its cost from their wages. They are allowed, as a favour, to return to the Home when out of place, but they are strongly urged not to give up their first situation, and if they remain in it more than a year £1 is placed to their credit in the bank.

In 1861 the late lamented Countess of Devon opened a Home for eighteen workhouse children, and others, who are orphans or deserted. With the former the guardians pay what they would cost in the workhouse; and £5 is expected from any private person placing a child in the institu-

tion. It is at Kenton, close to Powderham Castle, whence the laundry and dairy establishments have been transferred to it, and so well do the girls work under efficient teachers as materially to defray the remaining cost of their maintenance. Such training prepares them to be good servants, and we are not surprised to hear that of thirteen placed out—some in moderate, some in large households—only one has done badly. They are admitted at various ages, but are not sent to service until sixteen, after being confirmed and becoming communicants.

"The lamentable statements," says the first report of the Training Home for Destitute Orphan Girls in connexion with the Wolverhampton Preventive Mission, "issued by authority, respecting the career of girls, after leaving the Union Houses in various parts of the country in which they had been for some time residents, seemed to demand an effort to rescue some of those who were yet young in the Union House of Wolverhampton from a life of after degradation and sin." To meet this crying want the Home was opened in January, 1863, for sixteen girls, commencing with ten. This number was probably

too large to begin with, and some of the girls were, perhaps, too old to be reclaimed, for the difficulties of the first year were very great. The age of admission has gradually lowered, and now none are received over ten years old; while it is found better that they should come even much younger, to save them from depraving influences, and to give them several years training. The foundress does not bind herself by any rule to place them at a fixed age, judging it best to let that event be decided by the fitness of the individual to go out into the world. That the right spirit prevails among them we may hope from the answer of one who had been sent to service. "Would you not rather be in the Home again?" she was one day asked. "No," she answered; "the Home has been a good home to me, and I love it dearly—but now *I am getting my living*."

Not many have yet been placed out, and four of the early ones must be considered failures; but the rest appear to be thoroughly unpauperized, mixing on an equality with respectable servants.

The children receive elementary instruction from ladies attending as voluntary teachers, and

are taught all kinds of housework; but owing, probably, to their youthfulness at present, they do not undertake remunerative employment. They cost, all expenses included, about £18 12s. a year, more than half of which is supplied by payments from guardians, and the rest by unsolicited donations, many of them in kind.

The foundress has for some years had a Free Registry Office, which has been the means of placing 900 girls in service, who are visited and watched by an appointed agent, sheltered if homeless, and nursed when sick. An intimate acquaintance has thus been gained with a large number of very destitute young women, and yet the opinion of the manager of the Home is, that "girls springing from the same class, *who have been long in the workhouse*, are the worst by far; more idle, more obtuse and difficult to rouse to a desire for self-improvement and to sentiments of honour than those who have been brought up at home—wretched as their homes may be."

A Home has been lately established by Lady Emma Stanley and Lady Cecilia Molyneux for the reception of orphans from West Derby Union. The guardians pay what each child

cost when in the workhouse, and the institution is of course open to the Poor Law Inspector. The Home will receive ten pupils, and their ages vary from seven to twelve. They are divided into two parties, who attend the National School on alternate mornings; those who remain at home do the housework, wash, &c. In the afternoon all learn to knit and sew.

Other kindred institutions exist in various parts of the country; their object being to root out, by the influences of a well-ordered home, the evil wrought by wrong training; and to prepare their wards, by careful instruction in all household arts, to take a good position in domestic service, and afterwards as wives and mothers. If the inmates be rigorously limited to a number small enough to preserve the characteristics of a home, it cannot be doubted that such institutions are admirably adapted to the end to be attained; but there is little ground to expect that they will ever be so multiplied as to deal, collectively, with more than a few hundred girls, while thousands are crying to us for rescue.

In March, 1861, Miss Twining opened a home in New Ormond street, for girls who, having gone

to service chiefly from pauper schools, were out of place, and had no refuge but the adult ward of the workhouse. One of the objections raised to the scheme,—and what enterprize, however, simple, however beneficent, has not been impeded at its outset by ignorant and selfish cavillers?—was that "no girls who went into workhouses were worth trying to save, as all were already bad; none, who had any character left, would go there, or would be needing help after having been once launched in service on leaving the schools." What a cruel calumny on the friendless orphan, who, cast adrift from her place by illness or the unreasonable demands of employers, or, may be, her own incapacity, seeks the dull cold shelter of the workhouse rather than live by sin; and how bitter a comment on the inadequacy of the training bestowed at great expense by the State upon its children to keep them in the path of virtue!

The first year's history of the Home proved the existence of a large class capable of benefiting by its aid. Upwards of sixty girls of good character were received from eighteen unions. Of these about two-thirds had been educated in District, Separate, or Workhouse

Schools, the remainder in non-pauper institutions; but for all, the only present refuge would have been the adult ward of the workhouse, those alone excepted who were young enough for admission to their respective schools. The following is a fair specimen of the class to whom Miss Twining extends her protection at those junctures of life, when, without such aid, ruin is almost inevitable.

"M. L., aged sixteen, an orphan, and does not remember her parents; has been three years at a district school, so has more learning than the rest, but also more knowledge of evil, much of which was unfortunately derived from a wicked woman in the adult ward, where she was placed on leaving her situation to return to the workhouse, though she had only been there now six weeks. She had had three different places, since she left the school, at coffee-shops, which seem to offer sad risks and temptations to these poor friendless girls: up late at night and early in the morning with no rest even on Sundays; it is indeed surprising if any remain in such situations with good character.

"One cannot but think that the careful and expensive education of our district schools

ought to end in something better than these places, or on leaving them, the adult wards of workhouses."[a]

While in the Home the girls are occupied in household work, in sewing, and in nursing the sick and infirm in a separate department of the institution. If they need training they are retained for that object; otherwise they are placed in service without delay—as a rule, in small households, which Miss Twining considers more suitable for them than larger establishments. Mrs. Way, it will be remembered, prefers the latter for her girls; but it must be borne in mind that Miss Twining's home is intended for an older class, who have not had the blessing of such training as Brockham affords. The young people are encouraged to regard the institution as a real home, returning to it on holidays, or if in trouble, or when out of place (paying, of course, for the accommodation when able); and all who bear a good character are invited to the annual festival on the anniversary of its establishment. These meetings have been attended by persons of distinguished rank and social influence, who have testified, not only by their

[a] *Journal of the Workhouse Visiting Society*, May, 1861.

presence, but in words, their favourable opinion of the institution, and sympathy with its objects. At one, the Right Honourable William Cowper, who presided, remarked,—"This Home sprang out of the Workhouse Visiting Society, which itself arose from the reflection that the poor in workhouses were least cared for. The Poor law intended workhouses as a test for the prevention of imposture, and in that they had succeeded; but these laws could not provide that friendly and fraternal care which the aged needed in illness, and of which the children were necessarily deprived. It had always been held in theory that private benevolence might assist the Poor law, but the unions generally were not accessible, and to those that were the supply of visitors was not equal to the demand."[a]

On the same occasion the Earl of Devon said, with reference to the Workhouse Visiting Society, that "he had always looked upon such societies as necessary, and supplemental to the Poor law system. The very nature of the workhouse itself—intended as it was by law for all classes of society—precluded that individual, friendly, and maternal feeling, which all know to be a most

[a] *Journal of the Workhouse Visiting Society.* May, 1863.

efficacious element in the training of young females. And, when they added to that the fact that these persons, after passing a certain age, were placed in the adult wards, where sometimes women of the most vicious and abandoned character were found, it needed nothing more, he thought, to convince every one that the institution of the Home for girls was calculated, by the blessing of God, to be of the greatest benefit to that class of society who so much needed their care and attention. They could hardly imagine a more unfortunate position for a young girl to be placed in, on arriving at the age of sixteen, than that of being removed from the schools and placed with adult females." [a]

The same nobleman said on the following anniversary, when the Archbishop of Canterbury presided, that he regarded this institution "as supplying that which was an irremediable defect in the workhouse;" it "did that which no legal relief could do—it exercised a personal sympathy which could not be given in workhouses." [b]

[a] *Journal of the Workhouse Visiting Society*, May, 1863.
[b] *Journal of the Workhouse Visiting Society*, April, 1864.

The Rev. O. J. Vignoles, Chaplain of the North Surrey District Schools, moved a resolution to the effect "that it is desirable that no girls should be in workhouses after the school period, *as undoing all the benefits of separation and previous training in district schools.*" And the Rev. G. H. M'Gill, Chaplain of St. George's in the East Workhouse, supporting him, said, that after some opposition the Board of Guardians of that parish had agreed to send girls to the Home; and that "out of the forty-five who had been sent there, not more than four had returned to the Workhouse; so that, independent of all other considerations, it was a great saving to the rate-payers." [a]

From the last Annual Report of the institution, [b] we learn that about 400 girls had been admitted during the six years of its existence. Some, indeed, had proved failures, but they were, in proportion, few; and the healthy unpauper aspect of those who had been guests at the previous anniversary, with the expressions of warm gratitude in letters from many others at

[a] Ibid.

[b] Sixth Report of the Industrial Home for Girls, and Home for Incurable and Infirm Women, 1867.

a distance, afforded proof of a large measure of success. Applications from respectable employers very far exceed the number of girls to be placed out; and another equally satisfactory fact is that the Home has completely destroyed in the girls all attachment to the workhouse. A very few, incapacitated by ill-health or inefficiency, have re-entered it, and some, though fewer still, have been returned, for incorrigible naughtiness; but none have gone back voluntarily.

The cost of such an institution is a serious consideration; and though, in Miss Twining's opinion, State aid may wisely be supplemented by private benevolence, she, herself, fears the want of funds will always keep the Homes few in number. In her's the cost per head is about seven shillings a week, and of this sum only half is paid by guardians for the girls they place there.

The Governor of Liverpool Workhouse has added to it a department resembling, in some respects, Miss Twining's Home. The evil of permitting respectable girls to associate with the dissolute women in the adult wards, was brought forcibly to his mind by an instance of abandoned

conduct, not, we fear, uncommon among this miserable class,—when two stripped themselves naked at night and danced about the dormitory. He caused a vacant building to be fitted up for well disposed girls, who were too old to enter the school, and placing a matron over them, had them instructed in all domestic work. He does not allow them to take other than good places at good wages, and there is a demand for them in the respectable households of Lancashire. Of 390 girls who have passed through this department 138 have been lost sight of, chiefly through records not having been kept in the early years of the institution; but of the remainder, 171 have done well, and only eight have returned to the Workhouse.

To be certain only of the well-doing of less than half would indicate no very brilliant success, had the circumstances of the training school been more favourable. But the heavy disadvantage it labours under, in being enclosed within the workhouse walls, must be borne in mind; and comparing the results with what would, in all probability, have been the fate of these poor creatures had no attempt been made to rescue them, the benevolent author of the

plan may reasonably congratulate himself on the operation of a scheme which has cost the rate-payers nothing but the matron's salary—a sum that must have been saved to them over and over again, by the girls she has trained becoming self-supporters.

In September, 1864, the guardians of Cork opened an Industrial Home for fifteen girls from their workhouse. Four were received in the first month, and the number was gradually increased. It was placed under the management of a committee of ladies, and fitted up in such a manner that the inmates could be instructed in laundry and housework. When first admitted, so ignorant were they of ordinary life, that they did not even know how to use knives and forks, and, indolent and listless, seemed unable to think or, it might almost be said, even to *see* for themselves. In January, 1867, it was, unfortunately, found necessary to close the institution, the house having proved unfit for its purpose; but already seventy-seven girls, varying in age from nine to eighteen, had received more or less training there. Several of these had been in the workhouse from birth, the average

time spent therein being nine years; and most were orphans of one or both parents. Nineteen proved failures, nine returned to the workhouse through illness, nine were in the Home when it closed, but forty were at that date in situations.

No wonder the guardians consider their experiment sufficiently successful to authorize its renewal, and are unanimous in their intention of re-opening the Home as soon as a suitable house can be found. True, the failure of nearly one third of those able to work, is positively a large proportion, but, comparatively,—remembering, that the raw material was of the genuine workhouse type—it will be acknowledged to be small by all acquainted with that class. The guardians cordially attribute their success, in great degree, to the ladies who were, in fact, the originators of the institution, and who have constantly watched over the girls, both under its roof, and, as far as possible, when placed in service. Their co-operation is invited in the management of the new Home; and as it is proposed to place this outside the city, and, while receiving the girls at an earlier age, to extend the period of training for each inmate to at least twelvemonths, we trust the results hereafter will be far more

satisfactory even than those already obtained; and that a similar effort to meet the great demand in Ireland for good servants, as well as to open to thousands of poor workhouse children an honest and independent career, will shortly be made by other Boards following the wise example of the guardians of Cork.

Several years ago two ladies devised a method for giving industrial training to some of the female "City Arabs" of Dublin, and for procuring them employment by which they might rescue themselves from destitution. [a] They were instructed in laundry-work, in sewing, and in the delicate crochet which rivals antique lace, one of their patronesses, (who had already set a similar institution on foot in Cork during the potato famine) being most energetic and successful in obtaining large orders from houses of business. The course adopted was to pay the young people weekly wages for their labour, however small the sum due to them might be; and this substantial result of their efforts soon made them regular attendants at the school. Subsequently it became necessary to close the laundry, the girls

[a] *Irish Quarterly Review*, January, 1860.

who had worked there being provided with occupation elsewhere; but the sewing and crochet classes were continued. The workers chiefly lived at their own homes, of which they often became the rent-payers, while sometimes they were the sole supporters of their families. At the school they received mental instruction from a certificated teacher, and were also regularly visited there by several ladies who read and talked with them, becoming thus intimately acquainted with their circumstances and able to help them in various ways,—often by obtaining for them, when prepared for it, permanent occupation, generally in service. One of these excellent persons took no fewer than nine girls in succession into her own house, and after training them in domestic duties found for them good situations.

The attention of the conductors of the institution being drawn to the lamentable condition of girls in workhouses by Mrs. Jameson's "Communion of Labour," they asked permission to take a few into their school. "What," said the gentleman in authority,—a very benevolent man —to whom they applied, "will you really take girls out of the workhouse? Do you know that

they are all bad? Are you not aware that ninety-nine per cent. are such as you dare not bring into your school?" adding—such was his impression of the effect of workhouse life,—that it would be better to take pupils from the gaol or the reformatory. A visit to the hundreds of young women who crowded the adult wards of the workhouse with which this gentleman was connected, convinced the applicant that the step she had contemplated involved a risk she could not run; but eventually a few younger girls were selected from the juvenile department of another union upon whom the experiment should be made. They were first formed into a probationary class within the workhouse, where the mistress undertook to prepare them for the particular kind of needlework they would have to execute; and gradually twelve were drafted into the school henceforth to be also a Home. The average age of these girls was 16½ years, and the average period they had spent in the workhouse 10½ years, so that they were fair specimens of the training given there. They could read and write, they exhibited no vicious propensities, were honest and did not tell lies; but they were sickly and spiritless, stupid to the last

degree, and so totally devoid of a knowledge of common things that they seemed destitute of ordinary intelligence. One was terrified on being put into a railway train; another after a fall of snow, asked "how the dust would be got off the trees?"

They knew nothing of the use of money. As long as they could recollect—the monotonous round of workhouse life, like the "raising" system which produced poor Topsey, often obliterates all memory of previous existence, and the child loses count even of its own age,—food, clothing, everything had been supplied to them they knew not how; and their utter indifference to any amount of mischef they did, was most perplexing to those who had taken charge of them. A curious fact revealed itself in the history of this little institution. During its early period a matron of the social position such an officer usually holds was found competent to its management; but when the workhouse girls were admitted her efficiency ceased; and it was not until a woman of education and refinement—in other words, a lady—undertook the post, that these poor, undisciplined, and stupified creatures could be successfully treated.

Similar experience, we are informed, has been gathered in the conduct of gaols.

It had been intended to train these girls, eventually, for service; but it was soon found that, as regarded many, it would be impossible to fit them for such a destination. They had never seen a pot put on the fire, nor a joint of meat, nor undressed vegetables; they did not know the use of knives and forks, nor could some of them go up and down stairs without falling! Perhaps more hopeless than all was their liability to violent passion or dense sulkiness; ill temper, indeed, is one of the most marked characteristics of workhouse children, deprived as they are of the salutary influence both of the individual affection and the various trials of home life. The only way to mitigate the evil, if it cannot be uprooted, "is to believe firmly that the child has been born with a heart and feelings like other people, and seek out these buried treasures at any cost. One gets into deep soundings, but the search is seldom altogether in vain." So said the ladies, and so have they acted. The institution was made as homelike as possible; intercourse with the *extern* pupils with their knowledge of ordinary life and

devotion of their earnings to the support of themselves and their relatives, was most beneficial; and equally so was the presence as *interns*, or boarders, of two orphans who had never been in a workhouse, and whose superior intelligence brightened the whole household. All attended a Sunday school, taught by the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul; and the influence of the ladies who visited the school on week-days, and whose good opinion was highly valued, was brought to bear specially on difficult cases. Banishment to the workhouse was held over them as the greatest possible punishment; while a crowning reward for good conduct, was permission to bring thence a former companion when a vacancy occurred in the Home, the girl to whom the favour was accorded being made, as it were, bail for the right behaviour of her *protegée;*—a course similar in principle to that adopted with success in dealing with criminals, by Captain Maconochie, when governor of Norfolk Island.

Careful teaching soon enabled the girls to earn a few pence during the week, and this sum mounted in course of time to shillings. The unwillingness to adopt a suggestion made to

some of them, that, being now able to support themselves, they might remove to lodgings, revealed the disposition still remaining to depend upon others for care, and for the provision of food and shelter; and thus indicated a defect in the institution, inseparable probably from every artificial arrangement to replace the natural home. Gradually the reluctance to self-dependence was overcome, and the old pupils established themselves in lodgings, under the friendly supervision of the ladies. They were induced as much as possible to procure work for themselves, and many obtained employment in a large factory for ready-made clothing, where the wages vary from 2s. 6d. to £1, or more, a week. The girls are enrolled in a small religious association with the ladies which maintains the bond between them, and their benefactors frequently visit them at their work.

A plan in some degree resembling that we have just described, has been pursued of late years in connexion with the South Dublin Union, with the friendly approval of the guardians, and the co-operation of the present enlightened master, who has himself introduced many reforms into

the workhouse, and promotes every effort for the benefit of the inmates.

Two "Ladies' Visiting Societies" have been established, the one Protestant, the other Catholic, which, limiting their ministration strictly to the followers of their respective creeds, work side by side in harmony, and have attained remarkable success. Besides devoting much attention to the sick and infirm, classes for the able-bodied women have been formed. Sacred music, with the aid of a harmonium, the gift of an ever-generous friend, is one of the subjects taught, and has a peculiarly softening influence. Admission to these classes is a coveted reward for good conduct in the laundry or oakum shop; while they enable the ladies to observe the character and capacity of the young women, and so to seek for them fitting occupations out of doors. Some are even doing well in service; but for the greater number employment has been obtained at factories, they being allowed to sleep at the workhouse until they can earn wages sufficient to pay for a lodging. This is found for them in respectable though very humble families,—a better plan, as experience has proved, than collecting them in a Home, however small.

The young people when they have felt the dignity of independence, are usually eager to destroy every trace of their connexion with the workhouse; and in order to avoid mutual recognition they disperse themselves as widely as possible. Thus, positive statistics of those rescued from pauperism would be hard to obtain; but their benefactors are usually able to pursue their career with watchful eyes; and on their assurance that the measure of success is large, we confidently rely.

Not many years ago the young women in the Dublin unions were known only for their lawless behaviour and utter insubordination. They exhausted every means of control within the workhouse, were frequently before the magistrates, and occasionally were consigned even to the convict prison. "I have heard a guardian say," we are informed by a writer on Irish workhouses, "that during one of the frequent outbreaks in the union he has seen all the wardmasters, the street police, and the whole body of guardians, assembled on Board day, standing at fault before a yard full of these desperate girls, and succeeding only after a long delay, and the use of the rudest physical force,

in securing and carrying off to prison the ring-leaders of the tumult."[a] It is the members of this same class,—in some instances the very individuals themselves, who by the influence of Christian gentlewomen have been converted into self-respecting, docile, and industrious citizens, free, it is to be hoped, for ever from the workhouse, and absorbed into the respectable labouring population.

[a] *Journal of the Workhouse Visiting Society*, Feb., 1860.

THE BOARDING-OUT SYSTEM.

THE Irish orphanage we are about to describe is not a pauper institution; but the children it provides for are of the same class with many who drift into our workhouses, and we give its history as that of a highly successful instance of the "Boarding-out system" which approves itself to us as peculiarly adapted to supply the wholesome training for after life which the workhouse fails to afford.

THE DUBLIN PROTESTANT ORPHAN SOCIETY.

In 1828 was originated in Dublin by three Protestants of very humble position, an orphanage for the fatherless of their own faith. [a] Until that period such bereaved little ones had frequently found a refuge in the numerous institutions established by benevolent Roman

[a] Annual Reports of the Protestant Orphan Society, 77 Upper Sackville Street, Dublin.

Catholics; but in these, not unnaturally, conversion to the creed of their benefactors became, if not absolutely a condition, generally a consequence of the children's admittance; and to provide for their education in the religion of their parents, the Protestant Orphan Society was founded. A *penny-a-week* subscription was set on foot by the suggesters of the scheme (in Ireland a common, and, as it appears to us, a touching mode of raising funds for charitable purposes, including as it does the offerings of the lowliest), and with the humble sum of threepence they commenced in November, 1828, their operations. Difficulties, at first appearing almost insuperable, were by energy and perseverance surmounted; money flowed in apace, and the Archbishop of Dublin became the Patron of the Society, while the Provost of Trinity College and the Dean of St. Patrick's accepted the office of vice presidents. Twenty-four destitute orphans were selected as the first recipients of its bounty, and a plan was adopted for training its wards, which has ever since been pursued. No vast and imposing building was erected, swallowing up the funds of the institution, and agglomerating the children in unnatural masses; but the orphans were sent

into the country to board in the families of respectable Protestants, usually labourers or small farmers, the moral and religious character of the foster-mothers being duly ascertained as follows :—

"*Nurse's Certificate.*

I DO hereby certify, from my own knowledge, that is a Protestant, and married to a Protestant, and that she resides in the Townland of in the Parish of Post Town County of at a distance of from the Parochial School of She has Children, viz. Males, Females; she has a House of her own, and acres of Ground, and Cows. She has not any other Children under her care from any other Institution; I therefore recommend her as a proper Person to be entrusted with the care of a Child from the *Protestant Orphan Society.*

The above recommended person is about Years of Age, about Feet Inch in Stature, Complexion, Eyes, Hair, her last Child being Dated day of 183

} Minister or Curate.

Name and residence of nearest Magistrate. }

Nurses are to take Notice, that no Child will be given to any person who has not been particularly described as above; and if detected in any attempt to impose on the Charity, will be punished as the Law directs."

Subsequently the church-warden's attestation was also required, and it was made a condition that the nurse should not receive children from the Foundling Hospital or any other charitable institution.

Inspectors were appointed to visit the homes from time to time, to verify the statements of the certificates, and to investigate the treatment of the children, filling up the following forms with the result of their observations.

"*Form of Inspector's Report on each Nurse, and each Child in her care.*

PARISH OF_____

NURSE_____

Name, age, and occupation of nurse?

Do. of her husband?

Number and ages of nurse's children, distinguishing males and females?

Has the nurse any children from any other Society, or from private individuals?

Name of townland?

Distance of house from church?

Distance from school, and its name?

Name of school-master or mistress—if trained—where?

Number of children attending school?

Boys. Girls. Protestants Rom. Catholics.

Is there a separate female school?

Are the girls taught needlework?

Who superintend the school?

Give your opinion of the school fully?

How are the orphans employed when not at school?

Is family prayer used in the nurse's house, and what form?

Can the nurse, or any of her family, read?

How often do the orphans and nurse's family attend church?

How often does the superintending clergyman visit the nurse's house?

Is there any Dispensary in the neighbourhood, or can medical advice be had conveniently?

State of nurse's house as to situation, cleanliness, furniture, &c. &c.

How are the orphans accommodated, as to bedding, &c. &c.

How many cows has the nurse? what land? and what apparently are her circumstances?

Do you think the nurse should get more orphans in addition to her present number (if less than three,) or in place of any of them who may be removed?

Are any of the orphans fit to be placed in the apprentice class? if so, state their names and descriptions? Could the nurse's family take any of them as apprentices? or what tradesmen near them could do so?

ORPHANS WITH NURSE_____

No. 1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

Name and age of Orphan.—No. 1.

State of health and appearance.

Does he say h prayers morning and evening? can he repeat them accurately?

Has he a Bible and Prayer-book? if not, is he of suitable age to use them?

Proficiency in Scripture and Catechism?
Do. in Reading and Spelling?
Do. in Writing and Arithmetic?

Same queries to be answered respecting each Orphan."

These Reports are filed at the office of the Society, so that the condition of each child, its progress at school, &c., can at any moment be ascertained.

The children were also taken under the voluntary supervision of the Protestant clergyman of the district in which they are located, with whom the Committee of the Society constantly correspond concerning their welfare, and through whom all payments to nurses are made; and to these three safeguards—the respectability of the foster-parents, the uncertain visits of the Inspectors, and the constant friendly surveillance of a resident clergyman—were soon added yearly, and, if occasion required, still more frequent visits by three members of the Committee. One of the three was the lamented Rev. Thomas Shore, late Chaplain to the Male Convict Prison in Dublin, and to the male and female Protestant reformatories in that city. His thorough appreciation of the principles upon which the Irish convict system is based, en-

abled him to co-operate with peculiar success in its administration; while to his introduction of the same principles into the management of the reformatories, together with his constant supervision, may be attributed a large portion of their remarkable success. A sagacious benevolence was combined in Mr. Shore with unwearying self-devotion; and to the favourable opinion, therefore, which he expressed to us, shortly before his death—founded upon twenty years' personal observation—of the plan pursued by the Orphan Society, we attribute great weight.

It may readily be believed that by the means we have described effective protection against ill-treatment is afforded to the orphans; for though occasionally it is found necessary to reprove a foster-mother, or "nurse" as the Society styles them, and sometimes, though very rarely, even to dismiss one, the constant watch upon their conduct prevents any wrong towards the little ones being long continued. The nurses are required to present themselves and their wards at the annual meetings of the Society (their travelling expenses being defrayed by it), and to produce a certificate from their clergyman that the children regularly attend a Protestant

place of worship, and day and Sunday Schools. A reward to the *teacher*, if the child on leaving school is found to have been well instructed, secures his interest in its progress; while the regular attendance of the little orphans enables them to carry off a large share of the prizes.

The sums paid by the Society to the nurses were originally £4 per annum for children under two years old, and £3 10s. for all above that age. These were to cover the expense of food, lodging, washing, and education,—the Society providing clothing. Subsequently these amounts were raised to £5 for children under *one* year old, and £4 for all above; the Society paying 5s. per annum to a neighbouring school for each child able to attend.

A considerable number of the subscribers had desired, when the association was formed, that a house should be taken as a dwelling for the orphans; and consequently a very careful investigation was made into the relative merits of the two schemes. The inquiry resulted in the conviction that the cost of the children maintained in a house apart, would be three times that of their support in families; while the moral advantage of replacing them as nearly as possible

in the circumstances appointed by nature—where, in the circle of an industrious family, they would be trained by example as well as precept in habits of activity and labour—was believed to afford an equally strong motive for adopting the boarding-out system.

There appears to be a growing feeling against Orphanages at home and abroad. "Une grande question a été mise à l'ordre du jour d'une importante assembleé, qui doit se tenir dans le courante de cette année en Hollande, 'Le peu de succés qu' obtiennent les orphelinats,'"—writes Monsieur John Bost in his last Annual Report of his marvellous institution at Laforce in France, where orphans form one of the many classes of the bereaved and the afflicted whom he takes under his benevolent care, and teaches to be mutually helpful.[a] He argues, however, that unless every orphan can find a home in a family, orphanages are "*une deplorable necessité;*" but he urges in eloquent and touching language the importance of rendering life in such institutions as little distinct as possible from that of the outer world, and shows how this is accomplished at Laforce. We wish his words may reach those

[a] *Les Œuvres de Laforce.* London: Nisbet & Co., 1867.

excellent persons who are engaged in the management of kindred establishments in this country. We have heard of one in which classification of the inmates by age leaving the infants without more companionship with older people than the nurses afforded, symptoms of idiocy appeared among them; and a healthful tone of mind was not restored until they were allowed to mingle freely with other children further advanced in years and intellect. From another Orphan Asylum some little people being permitted to pay a visit at a gentleman's country house, and who had in order to reach it to pass through London, were observed in that part of the transit which was performed on foot, to cling to each other or to the railings, apparently unable to walk alone. Arrived at their host's residence, the "common objects" of rural life seemed to bewilder them, and, among these, chickens were gazed and exclaimed at in astonishment. Knowing that the Asylum which had received them was in the country, we were ourselves amazed at their ignorance until we happened to meet in a Report of the institution with the following regulation; "that no dogs, birds, rabbits, pigs, &c., shall be allowed on the premises."

The number of children under the care of the Dublin Society had by 1832 increased to 115; and in that year branch associations began to be formed in provincial towns, which have proved equally successful with the original institution. This had been in existence six years when some of its wards had reached an age suitable for apprenticeship, and the committee pledging itself to equal care in the selection of employers as they exercised in the choice of nurses, required the following certificate duly filled up to be presented by any applicant for their children.

"*Form of Application for Apprentices.*

To the Committee of the Protestant Orphan Society.

[a] sets forth that he is a Protestant, is [b] whose name before marriage was and that he is aged about years, that he has sons living with the eldest about years, and the youngest years, and daughters, the eldest about years, and the youngest years, who are all brought up in the Protestant Religion: that he has Apprentices, who have been educated in the Protestant Religion, and no others; that he does not retail Malt or Spirituous Liquors: that he resides at No. [c] street in the Parish of and county of where he rents, and occupies a [d] and Farm consisting of Acres, which he holds for an unexpired Term of and has

[a] Name of Applicant. [b] This Blank to be filled with, *Married to a Protestant*, or *Unmarried*, *Widow* or *Widower* as the case may be. [c] State Residence. [d] A *House* or *Apartments*, as the case may be: if no *Farm*, the words relating thereto are to be struck out.

resided in same place years, and that he there carries on the business of and is able to maintain and instruct an Apprentice in said Business;[a] he therefore humbly prays your Committee to grant as an Apprentice, a named now living with at to be by instructed in the Business of

Witness_____

Signed_____ Applicant.

We, the undersigned Minister of the Parish of and Protestant Householders in said Parish, in the County of do hereby certify that we have attentively read and examined the above Memorial, and on inquiry we find that therein named, is honest, sober, moral, and industrious, and a Person of quiet and regular behaviour; and we believe that the facts stated in the above Memorial are true.

Dated this day of 183

_____ { Rector or Curate of County of

_____ } Protestant Householders in said Parish.

Further it was provided that triplicate indentures should be signed, the treasurer of the Society being one of the parties.

In 1836 it was thought expedient to procure for the elder children instruction superior to that afforded in country schools; and with this

[a] If the Apprentice be wanted as a *Servant*, it must be so stated."

object it was decided to remove to Dublin a class of six of each sex, to be filled up as vacancies occurred, placing them in the best parochial schools, which it was found could be done with no great increase of expense. In the capital, moreover, they could be seen by employers more conveniently than in their country homes. The advantage of this plan proving to be considerable, it was determined three years later to establish a home in Dublin for these elder children; and a suitable building was purchased in Percy Place, which thenceforth has been the "local habitation" of the Society. Their wards receive gratuitously excellent instruction from a neighbouring school, and the girls are practised in a higher class of housework than is attainable in a farmer's dwelling; while the clothing for all the orphans is stored here, and the house affords a home for the nurses and their wards on their annual visit to Dublin.

All the children placed out by the Society are apprenticed,—the boys for five or seven years to trades, the girls for three or five years to trades or domestic service, and thus a certain degree of control is maintained over them during youth. A fee, graduated according to circumstances, is

given with each child apprenticed to a *trade.* Great care has always been exercised in the selection of employers, and several years ago an Inspector was appointed to visit every apprentice twice yearly, and to keep up a constant intercourse by letter. In 1842 an "Apprentice Relief Fund" was formed to afford assistance in cases of extreme need, where the apprenticeship has been faithfully served.

A burial place, for those of the orphans who may die in Dublin, was granted, unsolicited, by the incumbent of St. Catherine's. The spot he gave is close to that where, having just laid the body of a friend in its last resting-place, and deeply moved by the destitute condition of his children, three humble tradesmen devised the Protestant Orphan Society. A suitable inscription on the tombstone placed in memory of the orphans first buried there, records the origin of the Association. It has indeed become a mighty tree from so small a seed! The provincial branches, as we learn from the Annual Report issued in March, 1866, have increased to thirty; they have 2,208 orphans under their care, and have placed out in the world 5,376. 1,817 Orphans have shared the bounty of the parent

society of whom 453 children are now under its charge; 831 have been apprenticed; and 428 have been returned to friends whose circumstances had sufficiently improved to authorize the restoration.

The mortality of the Dublin orphans calculated in 1862 upon several preceding years is, according to the eminent statician Dr. Neilson Hancock, slightly under 1 per cent. per annum, the average national rate for their age being about 1½ per cent.[a] Let us contrast this with the deaths for the same period throughout Ireland in workhouses, which, for children under sixteen, was about three times the national rate, while in Cork Workhouse this was multiplied ten times; and in North Dublin Union the mortality of children under two years, amounted to 116 per cent.,—"In other words, children under two years of age were not likely to live more than ten months in the house."[b] No wonder the guardians of that Union urged the non-admission of such children, "as it would be nearly certain death to receive them."[c]

The healthy, happy aspect of the orphans, and

[a] The Mortality of Children in Workhouses in Ireland; by W. Neilson Hancock, Esq., LL.D. Dublin, 1862.

[b] Ibid. [c] Ibid.

the motherly care they receive in illness, are frequently commented upon by the Members of the Committee after their annual visit to the children, and by the clergymen in whose parishes they dwell. One of these gentlemen, Dr. Fletcher, writes, "I often see the little Protestant orphans in the simple livery of that benevolent Society, going to and coming from school, or playing at the cottage doors, where they are living, with such ruddy health, and happy faces, and comfortable dress, as prove the excellence of the system, and the humanity and tenderness of the families in which they are placed; and upon inquiry into the feelings which subsist between them and their nurses, I always find them to be those of filial attachment on their side, and parental kindness on the other. You may recollect a case of this description here last summer, in which a child about to be removed from one family to another, grieved so bitterly that the Society did not insist upon the change. In short, I am convinced that all the children are happy, and scarcely know that they are orphans; whilst the nurses in a great measure forget that they are not their parents. Take it for all in all, I do not know a more useful and ex-

cellent society." [a] He elsewhere remarks, "The Society is so simple in its moral constitution that all its resources are expended on its legitimate objects, and not wasted on cumbrous and unprofitable machinery. Every shilling *tells*, and the connexion is immediate and palpable between the outlay and the gain. It is the best substitute in existence for parental kindness; and sometimes excels in this respect the provisions of nature, because even where affection fails, other feelings come in to supply its place; and most of the virtues and the faults of common life work together for the orphan's good." [b]

The annual cost of the children (exclusive of the apprenticeship fee), is between £10 and £11 per head, dividing the whole expenditure of the Society by the number of its wards. We are informed that, in this country, the friends of an orphan frequently pay (in canvassing expenses, purchasing the right to vote, &c), £100 to obtain its election to one of our Asylums [c]—a sum which

[a] Tenth Report of the Protestant Orphan Society.

[b] Fourteenth Annual Report of the Protestant Orphan Society.

[c] The Orphan Asylum at Ashley Down near Bristol is an exception. The founder and director of that institution, Mr. Müller, ascertains the genuineness of the claim of each applicant, and if this be established the child is admitted to fill the first vacancy.

if expended on the plan of the Dublin Society would, in numerous cases, entirely maintain the child until able to support itself.

The Reports do not afford minute statistics of moral results, partly, no doubt, because the children as they establish themselves in life are gradually lost sight of; but careful and extensive inquiry, both from those engaged in this benevolent enterprize and from disinterested observers, has convinced us that the results are not less satisfactory under a moral than under a sanitary and pecuniary point of view.

About nine years ago a similar orphanage, called St. Brigid's, was established by a Roman Catholic lady in Dublin, with the warm approval of the Roman Catholic Archbishop, for children of that faith. Placed to board in respectable country families, they are constantly visited by the conductors of the Orphanage, and watched over by the priest of the parish in which they dwell; and at a suitable age they are apprenticed to trades or service. Within seven years of the commencement 500 children had been taken in charge, of whom only three or four had turned out ill, while 200 were "already working for

themselves at trades, in service, or growing up in the families and as the sons and daughters of their foster parents."[a] Fifty have indeed thus been adopted. "A poor man, whose wife had charge of one of the orphans, was obliged to go to England to look for employment. He obtained a good situation, sent for his family and charged his wife to bring the boy. 'Go,' said he, 'to St. Brigid's, and tell the lady that we will make our own of the child, and that we will do for him the same as our own, and, there will be no difference between them.' When a good woman was told that a child of whom she had charge was about to be taken from her, and provided for: 'Give me back my child,' she said; 'I'll go home desolate without him. Leave him with us a little, and we'll do for him. My son is learning a trade, in a few years he will be a tradesman and will teach James the trade. For God's love do not part me and my child.' One poor woman wrung her hands when she heard her foster-child was about to be provided for. 'God gave me seven children, and He took them again from me by death; and this is the only one I have now; I'll keep him in the place of my seven, and I'll

[a] *The Lamp*, No. 123.

rear him, and not be lonesome in my old age.' Another, finding that an orphan could no longer be paid for, said, 'Well, my own little girl died a short time ago, and perhaps God Almighty took her to make room for Mary; and so, if you are pleased, she will be to me instead of my own daughter.' And again, a strong man came with tears in his eyes to a priest to implore him that a child who had been in his house might not be taken away. 'My wife will break her heart if the child be torn from us,' he said; 'leave her with us and we will make her our own.'" [a]

There are absolutely no establishment expenses in connexion with this Orphanage, as the Confraternities in the City voluntarily collect the subscriptions; and the inspection is performed entirely by the ladies connected with St. Brigid's. In this latter respect it may even be superior to the Protestant Orphanage, for, able and devoted as are the gentlemen who visit the little Protestants in their homes, it cannot be disputed that women are, by virtue of their sex, more competent to judge of the well-being of children.

Within the last few years the Dublin Guar-

[a] Ibid.

dians have sent infant orphans, and deserted children, to foster nurses in the country. These bring their wards periodically to be inspected by the Board, and are also visited frequently in their own homes by the relieving officer. Although circumstances have occurred, indicating the need of supervision by persons of a higher class, the authorities are, on the whole, well-pleased with the result so far, and the healthy appearance of the children testifies favourably to the plan. Unfortunately, in the present state of the law, they must be transferred to the workhouse at a very early age: unless, indeed, they are adopted by their foster-parents, a result which the affectionate nature of the Irish character renders by no means improbable, as experience has already shown. Guardians and Poor Law Commissioners are alike desirous that the period should be extended until the children have reached the age of twelve, on the ground, that by that time they would have become useful to their foster-parents who would thus be able to retain them, so that they need never enter the union at all.[a] It is to be hoped that the opinion of the authorities practically engaged in dealing with these

[a] Irish Poor Law Report, 1867.

children may speedily be rendered effective by law.

The Boarding-out system, we learn from M. de Liefde, [a] has long been practiced in various parts of Germany by the administrators of public relief to the poor; but in some provinces inadequate care in the selection of homes and the lack of efficient supervision has raised against it a feeling akin to that excited by the parish-apprentice system in this country which still lingers among us. The defects, however, and the inadequacy in number resulting from their costliness, of establishments for homeless children became long ago painfully apparent to many German philanthropists, and to none more so than to Pastor Zeller of Beuggen. His aspiration, although his whole life may be said to have been devoted to the redemption of children by means of schools and asylums, was that these should be superseded by a genuine family system. "The Christian family parlour," he was wont to say "is the best reformatory." Among the hearers whom, forty

[a] *Six months among the Charities of Europe*, by John de Liefde. London, 1865.

years ago, he imbued with this doctrine, was Andreas Bram, a native of Basle, who not only recognised in it the salvation of the child received into a home, but a reciprocal advantage to its benefactors, by the opportunity afforded them of carrying into practical effect the teachings of Christ; and experience has proved his conviction to have been well founded. He was aware, however, that a class of children existed for whom the stricter discipline of an institution was necessary, and desired that these should be dealt with in reformatory schools. Entering the ministry, Pastor Bram was in 1835 called to Neuekirchen near Moers in Rhenish Prussia, where he still resides. There public opinion was entirely opposed to his views, and for ten years he contented himself with labouring to disseminate them, travelling for this purpose great distances, visiting leading men, and delivering lectures. The common objection urged was that no suitable families could be found—an objection which at length, in 1845, the time seemed ripe for refuting. A family in his own congregation was willing to adopt his plan, and a destitute child was entrusted to its care, a small weekly sum for board being paid partly by

the community, partly by voluntary gifts. The experiment was perfectly successful, and soon a second was tried. In a short time twenty-five children were thus placed out in nine families. Some organization became now needful for conducting the enterprize, and the "Society for the education of poor abandoned and neglected children in Christian families" was formed with Pastor Bram for its President. The members sought suitable homes, and were even astonished at the number they met with, although the remuneration was purposely fixed low that there might be no temptation of pecuniary profit.

They also visited the children and their foster parents frequently, but rather in a spirit of friendly interest towards both parties than as inspectors coming solely on behalf of the children. Branch Societies were formed, and in some districts an offer to Government was made and thankfully accepted, to undertake the supervision of children boarded-out by the public authorities. It was soon found necessary to have a house as a temporary refuge for children needing shelter while a suitable home was selected, and in 1849 one was hired for the purpose at Neuekirchen, the family character

being still as far as possible maintained in its management.

The statistics of the society for 1863 (the latest given by M. de Liefde), show that 296 children had been taken charge of during its existence of eighteen years, of whom 113 were still under its care; the death rate had been about 1½ per cent., the average annual cost of each child was £6 15s. 4½d. Friendly intercourse is maintained with them after they are placed out in the world; and though some have failed to do well, a large majority are artisans and domestic servants of good character.

At Hamburg the Boarding-out system is pursued; and more than half the pauper children of Berlin are thus dealt with. The regulations for their management issued in 1866, and confirming the Code of 1854, lie before us. This department is under the control of the Poor Law Board, but its local administration is entrusted to an association of not less than five persons called an "Orphan Office." The members, entitled Warders and Wardresses,—the former superintending boys at school, the latter girls and little boys—are proposed by the Poor Law Board, and appointed by the local magistrate. They

assemble once monthly, when a member of the Poor Law Board has a right to be present, for consultation; and twice in the year all the Orphan Offices hold a general conference under the presidency of the orphan department of the Poor Law Board.

There is an Orphan Office in each Poor Law district, wherein the number of orphans boarded out is restricted to fifteen, in order that the members of the Office may not have more than three children respectively to superintend. Their duty consists in verifying the proofs of suitableness for the charge of children presented by foster parents (who must not be in receipt of alms or parish pay, and who must comply strictly with the directions given by the Warders and Wardresses of their district); in closely watching by frequent visits, the condition, treatment and regular attendance at school of the orphans, and reporting the same half-yearly to the Poor Law Board; and in paying the foster-parents their allowances. These are, for children under one year old, fifteen shillings a month, diminishing until for children between seven and fourteen it is nine shillings. The Board provides clothing for the infants and "also for children under six

years old who have been well taken care of for six successive months by the same foster-parents." In case of illness, the child is attended by the district pauper medical officer.

In addition to the close personal supervision expected from the Warders and Wardresses, the city districts are visited by the Poor Law Inspectors, whose duty it is to point out to the different Orphan Offices any defects they may have observed, and if necessary to report them to the Poor Law Board.

The head of the Orphan Department in Berlin is M. Zelle,[a] and the following *data* obtained from him we owe to the kindness of the distinguished jurist Baron Von Holzendorff, who writes, "We have a mixed system; part of our pauper children are educated in orphan houses, part are given in charge to trustworthy cottagers and citizens of towns. Berlin has a large orphan establishment in its rural vicinity, consisting however of several distinct houses. The spot is called *Rummels-*

[a] This gentleman has just published an historical sketch of Juvenile Pauperism in Prussia, entitled, "Care of Orphans; and the Orphan Children of Berlin," giving interesting details of the system now pursued.

burg; there are five houses for 50 boys each, (250 children), two houses for girls (100), a department for the agricultural training of girls between fourteen and fifteen years (50 girls), a nursery for children under seven years (30), a hospital (containing now 30 children), an establishment for the reception of children affected with chronic diseases (20); in all 480 children.

"The majority, however, are boarded out, the total number being 1,520. About 800 children are in cottages distributed over the whole of the province of Brandenburg, either in rural districts or in small towns, the clergy voluntarily exercising surveillance over those in the villages. In Berlin there are many non-clerical members of the administration, gentlemen and ladies, who offer their assistance for the same purpose. Boys are dismissed at the age of fourteen, girls at fifteen years.

"The result of my own observations, and the opinion of my friend, Mr. Zelle, are as follows:—Both systems, when well administered, may do; it depends on circumstances which ought to be preferred. It is desirable to have both; and to make a proper selection of children before

subjecting them to either. For boys a *combined* educational training in a common establishment works well; for girls *individual* treatment is decidedly better than keeping them in orphan houses."

A Russian gentleman, Baron de Bode, informs us,—"We have a public institution, framed somewhat on the plan you mention of placing orphans to board among cottagers—children are sent from the Foundling Hospital in St. Petersburg into rural districts to be brought up in peasants' families; they are supported by the funds of the Hospital. Central stations are erected in the country, with infirmaries to which children placed in the neighbourhood resort when ill; there they also receive their elementary education; and, when they become of the right age, they choose their own trade, and receive a stipulated sum to set them up in life, from their guardians the authorities of the Foundling Hospital. Marriages are encouraged, mostly among themselves,—I believe even portions are established for that purpose; and for those who have a turn for agricultural pursuits land is granted by Government. But there is one great

drawback in this, in other respects benevolent plan. It creates a sordid spirit among mothers of the rural population, much to the detriment of their own offspring, who are often neglected by them for fear of losing the stipend granted for the care of the nursling. It has even been observed in those localities where orphans are given out to nurse that population is on the wane. However, with proper management the defect might be obviated."

The plan of boarding out children has existed in France for several centuries, having had its origin in the practice of sending them out of Paris and probably other large towns, immediately on their birth, to be nursed in the country. An *ordonnance* of the reign of King John (January 30th, 1450,) regulates the salary of the nurses, and also the emoluments of the agents at Paris, called *raccommanderesses*, who sought and engaged them. In 1613 under Louis XIII, letters patent were issued confirming their rights and privileges to four *raccommanderesses*, and prohibiting any addition to their number. In 1769, however, a dearth of nurses had arisen, owing, in part at least, to the non-payment of their

salaries by the *raccommanderesses* (a testimony, by the way, to the evils of monopoly); and to remedy the deficiency a government department was established, entitled "*Le bureau general des nourrices, et des raccommanderesses.*" Inspectors were appointed to visit the nurses, but they were not active in the discharge of their duties, nor were the local medical officers who superseded them much better. At length, after the difficulties of the revolutionary period, during which the nurses were the objects of many legislative measures, the Bureau passed, in the year IX. under the administration of the *Conseil general des hospices;* and thus arose the department of "*Le service des enfants assistés,*" which, after successive improvements, is now—under the able direction of M. Husson,—popularly known in Paris as the "Bureau Sainte Apolline." To the office of providing nurses for the offspring—entitled *enfants placés*—of parents who pay for their services, is added the whole charge of the class corresponding to our juvenile paupers,—called *enfants assistés*; for though there is no Poor Law in France, provision for the relief of the destitute is made; and all the children thus relieved in Paris are dealt with by the Bureau

Ste. Apolline, whether their destitution arise from their being orphans, or from the poverty of their parents, or temporarily from the incapacitation of the latter to support them through being either in hospital or in prison. In any of these cases the destitute child is taken to the Bureau, where he is immediately registered, and a parchment bearing his name and number, with the date, is attached to his arm. If his health demands medical care, he remains until cured at the Hospice of the institution. Otherwise, a small silver medal, bearing on one side the head of St. Vincent de Paul, on the other the child's number, is fixed round his neck, never to be removed until he is six years old, except in extreme cases, and with legal formalities; he is then entrusted to a nurse residing in the country, —a sufficient supply of whom are constantly brought to Paris, under the escort of a *surveillante* to fetch their foster-children. These are likewise placed under the close supervision of a medical practitioner, and a *sous-inspecteur*.

Formerly the children were dispersed by the Government institution over twenty-one departments, but the rival demands of the private bureaus restrict them now to five. These are

respectively divided into six "*circonscriptions*," at the head of each of which is a *sous-inspecteur*, whose salary varies with the number of children under his care, but must never exceed £140 a year. He acts in unison with the numerous local medical officers, and his duties are multiform. He aids in selecting nurses (giving preference to those who possess a cow or goat); he appoints and must always have ready a *surveillante* to take charge of nurses and children on their journeys to and from Paris; he examines both on their arrival, and ascertains that the child wears its medal; he sees that the medical officers discharge their duty; he must visit every child in his district once in three months, satisfying himself of its welfare, or, if necessary, transferring it to another nurse; and putting himself in communication with the Maire, the Curé, and other principal inhabitants, he must solicit their friendly notice of the children. He also orders, and accounts for, every disbursement; and it is his duty to keep the central administration informed of the exact state of each child in his district.

The duties of the medical officer are still more onerous. He must recommend to the *sous-inspecteur* a sufficient number of nurses. He

examines every child on its arrival from Paris, entering its condition in a book; he should visit them monthly, and the nurselings even more frequently; while those who are ill he must attend as often as may be needful, and supply them with medicines, &c., at his own cost. He has to keep the *sous-inspecteur* constantly informed of the state of the children, and to report every three months upon their condition. Also, it devolves upon him to take charge of the belongings of those who die. His payment is twelve francs per annum per child.

The nurse must produce a certificate from the authorities of her Commune that she is married, of good character, and in circumstances to take proper care of a foster-child. She must be between twenty and forty years of age, and is not permitted to take charge of an infant unless her own is nine months old, and has been weaned; she is, moreover, subjected to three distinct medical examinations to test her fitness as wet-nurse.

The rates of payments are, for children aged from one day to twelve months, twelve francs a month—

	Francs.
From 1 to 2 years	10
,, 2 to 4 years	8
,, 4 to 6 years	7
,, 6 to 12 years	6

The nurse is bound to send her foster-child from the age of six to fourteen regularly to school, (the fees being paid by the Bureau), and to receive religious instruction—a certificate that she has done so being required; and those who can produce it, and show that the children received under one year old, have been well cared for, and kept free from accident until twelve, obtain a reward of fifty francs for each. Clothing is provided by the Bureau, and its Reports contain the most elaborate tables of the garments supplied at different ages, with minutest calculations—even to thousandth fractions of a franc—of the cost. This amounts to about £1 for the first outfit, and the additional supplies up to five years of age, cost £2 10s. more. From that period, sex is recognised in the distribution of garments,—the boy assumes the lordly pantaloon, and costs henceforth for clothing nearly a third more than the weaker vessel—the respective averages being twenty-six and eighteen francs per annum up to twelve years of age,

when the supply ceases. At that age the foster-child is eligible for apprenticeship, and the nurse —or probably her husband—frequently retains it in this relation. No premium is paid, and only in cases of illness any allowance for support, but the employer receives fifty francs for clothing; he has, however, to supply a certain outfit on the expiration of the apprenticeship. Occasionally he foregoes the expenditure of the fifty francs, in which case it is placed in a Savings Bank as a resource when the young person shall start in life, and he is urged to augment it from his earnings. The *sous-inspecteur* draws up a formal agreement with the employer, and in obedience to rules issued by the Bureau he apprentices the child for only three or four years. At the expiration of this period he makes a new engagement with the same employer, or, if his conduct has been unsatisfactory, another is sought.

The *sous-inspecteur* exercises a constant supervision over the apprentice, and if vicious tendencies appear he first strives to induce him to amend his ways; but if he fail, he causes the youth's removal to the Hospice, whence he is sent to a reformatory,—the girls being analo-

gously disposed of. The proportion, however, who need such discipline is very small, only 58 out of about 10,000, between the ages of ten and twenty-one, who were under the care of the Bureau, having incurred correction in 1864, and those for trifling offences. [a]

The average number of children annually relieved by the Bureau in the ten years from 1855 (when the institution was put on its present footing), until 1864 was 21,934, of whom 3,535 have been reclaimed by their parents or other relatives; and the average annual expenditure amounted to 2,646,030 francs, or a little under 13 francs for each child relieved, so that it is evident many can have been under the care of the Bureau for only very short periods.

Although the rate of mortality had been steadily diminishing for some years, it was in 1864 for *enfants placés* under one year old, above 30 per cent., or rather more than double the normal death-rate for the whole of France! [b] Calculated, however, upon the number of *enfants*

[a] Rapport sur les enfants assistés. Paris, 1865.

[b] *Discours sur la mortalité des jeunes enfants*, par M. A. Husson. Paris, Bailliere et Fils, 1866. This high rate is partly accounted for by the fact that wet-nurses can only be found at a considerable radius from the capital, necessitating a long journey,

assistés under twelve years of age, it was 9·17 per cent. for the sickly children detained in the hospice, and 7·96 for the rest sent into the country. [a]

Some very startling statistics of the mortality of infants put out to nurse in France, have latterly attracted attention in that country and our own; and lest these results should be confounded with the operations of the Bureau Ste. Apolline, it is incumbent on us to state that the statistics referred to relate, as regards *enfants assistés*, to those in the provinces; and as regards *enfants placés* to those entrusted by their parents to nurses engaged at private bureaus, where the most shocking negligence prevails in selecting them, and whence apparently no supervision at all is exercised over them after their return with their foster children to the country. A government inquiry into this frightful abuse, in 1860, ascertained that infants under one year old were dying at the rate of 58, 70, 87, and even 90 per cent. The superiority of the Bureau Ste. Apolline over

which, immediately after birth, whatever the season may be, is of course inimical to the infant's life. *Rapport sur les enfants assistés* 1866.

[a] Rapport, 1865.

the innumerable private offices for providing nurses at Paris, appears from the mournful statement of M. Brochard, that of *all* the children sent out of Paris to be nursed *three quarters* die![a]

It will be now clear to our readers that infant mortality has reached a maximum as frightful among the offspring of parents who are living, and ostensibly their guardians, as among the deserted and orphan children dependent on public charity; and that, moreover, the causes of this appalling destruction of human life are not only preventible, but as regards the latter class in the department of the Seine—namely the *Enfants Assistés* under the care of the Bureau Ste. Apolline,—are to a great degree prevented. The mean death-rate for these children under 12, in the Hospice and in the country is about 8·77 per cent.[b] Perhaps it might be further reduced by more liberal pay to the nurses, and especially to the medical officers, who can hardly for twelve francs a year bestow the needful amount of attention on each little patient. We are inclined also to

[a] *Gazette des Hopitaux*, 27 Septembre, 1866.

[b] Rapport, 1866.

believe that, were the nurse a freer agent, so that responsibility for the welfare of the infant should rest upon her instead of on the *sous-inspecteur* and the medical officer, which reduces her to the position merely of a servant of the Bureau—she would probably take a more affectionate interest in her nurseling, telling favourably on its physical and also, doubtless, on its moral condition. In the latter respect, however, satisfactory results seem already to be obtained.

As we have seen, the proportion of *enfants assistés* incurring reprimand or punishment is very small, although the period during which the department takes cognizance of their conduct extends till they are twenty-one,—a certain amount of control being wisely retained over them until they have reached that age. As regards the important question, whether they really become *grafted*, so to speak, upon the family to which they have been entrusted, we are informed by M. Husson, in a letter with which he has favoured us,—"La plupart d'entre eux trouvent ainsi une veritable famille, et des sentiments d'affection reciproque se developpent facilement entre les nourriciers et les enfants,

surtout quand ces dermiers ont été allaités par la femme à laquelle ils ont été confiés."

The Boarding-out system has approved itself, we may assume, to the highest power in France, as we learn that the Orphanage founded in 1856, in the name of the Prince Imperial and taking its title from him, is conducted entirely on this plan. The results appear to be completely satisfactory.[a]

[a] *Times*, August 19, 1863.

PAUPER CHILDREN BOARDED OUT IN SCOTLAND.

IN 1864, the *Workhouse Visiting Journal* printed an abstract of answers to questions submitted by it to Mr. Greig, clerk to the Edinburgh Parochial Board, upon the system adopted by that body in respect to the orphan children under their care; and the document has been since reprinted in various publications. We are enabled, by his courtesy, to give the following fuller information, brought down to the end of 1866:—

"*Report by George Greig, Inspector of Poor for the City Parish of Edinburgh, as to the mode of dealing with Orphan Children in that Parish.* 1866.

"The pauper children of this parish were formerly maintained in an institution called the Orphan Hospital, apart from the poorhouse, but so dissatisfied was this Board with the results,

that, about eighteen years ago they resolved to board the children with families in the country, where they might have the physical advantage of the country air, as well as the moral one of being separated from bad associates, and brought into contact with people of good character. This plan has since been followed by all the larger parishes in Scotland; the numbers sent out at present by the parishes of Edinburgh and Leith being upwards of 700, by Glasgow somewhat more, and by Dundee, Aberdeen, and other towns, in proportion to their population.

"With the view of securing proper supervision, in carrying out the family system, this Board appointed an assistant to the inspector, whose sole duty it is to superintend the children boarded out, both boys and girls, and to find out good nurses for them.

"They are boarded with cottagers, farm servants, or tradespeople, and not with persons who make the care of them their only task.

"Preference is given to people of character who have a steady income apart from the allowance for the board of the children, and who will receive and treat them exactly as members of their own family; and it is found that when the

children are sent out young, they learn to call the parties to whom they are sent father and mother.

"They acquire towards them the feelings of children, and the result generally is that the nurses acquire for them a parental affection.

"In selecting nurses for the children the assistant inspector visits the parties who agree to take them (and there are generally plenty of applicants), and makes enquiry in the neighbourhood as to their character; inspects the house as to its accommodation, dryness and ventilation; ascertains if there is a well-taught school in the neighbourhood; and it is only after being satisfied on all these points, that children are sent.

"He afterwards visits the nurse as well as the school at least eight times in the year; satisfies himself that the children are healthy, sufficiently fed, cleanly kept, and their education attended to; and, in addition, the Inspector and Members of the Board, in rotation, visit the whole children boarded out once a year.

"People of excellent moral character are generally got to take charge of the children; but, should inferior persons be, perchance, selected, the close superintendence prevents them from doing injustice. Should neglect occur in any

case, however, the children are at once removed; but, although there are about 300 children boarded out, and, some years ago, there were 400, I have only had occasion to remove children, in consequence of neglect on the part of their nurses, on three or four occasions during a period of five years.

"The localities selected are generally small villages at a distance of ten, fifteen, or twenty miles from Edinburgh, and of convenient access by railway; and never more than four children are sent to one family.

"In consequence of our requiring the regular attendance of the children at school, the teacher has to fill up a schedule — showing their progress, and each day's absence, with the reasons given—which forms a check on the nurse. Our children are, consequently, the most regular in their attendance; are generally the best scholars, carrying off a large share of the school prizes; and, when sent to service, prove as good servants as the children of the cottagers or workpeople not dependent on the rates usually do; certainly not inferior, and many of them rise to positions of trust. It is a rare thing for either a boy or a girl, who has been brought up by the

Parochial Board in this way, to become chargeable to the parish in after life, which was not the case as to the children who were brought up in the hospital in town.

"In a Report by Mr. Adamson, the able inspector of Glasgow, issued in August, 1864, reference is made to results, equally satisfactory, in the case of the children who had been boarded out and brought up in the same way by this Board. He gives the following return as to the subsequent history of the children who had been boarded out and brought up in the same way by his Board:

	Males.	Females.	Total.	
'Residing in Glasgow,	53	82	135	
Residing in other parishes,	128	112	240	
				375
Occupied at trades,	64	11	75	
Occupied at weaving and factory work,	22	54	76	
				151
Domestic servants,	0	125	125	
Farm servants,	66	0	66	
Clerks,	12	0	12	
Miners,	17	0	17	
Sailors,	3	0	3	
Soldiers,	1	0	1	
				375
Characters good,	182	180	362	
Characters bad,	2	11	13	
Dead,	6	5	11	
In poorhouse,	2	4	6	
Convicted of crime,	1	4	5	
				397'

"The Board pays to the nurse, for each child sent to board, two shillings and sixpence a week, which covers board, lodging, washing, and mending. The Board, in addition, provides clothing, which is sent from the poorhouse, of a good quality, and not uniform in colour or kind; and also pays the fees to the schoolmaster, the same as paid by the children of the district. In cases of sickness, which is rare, the nurse obtains the services of a medical man in the district, for which the Board pays. The total amount of all these charges for each child, for the past year, including the salary of the assistant inspector and all expenses connected with the children, was £8 10s. 10d.

"It is the nurse's duty to take the children with her to the church which she attends, to see they attend the Sabbath school, and study their lessons, and, in short, to deal with them in every way as if they were her own; and, with the view of extending the benefits of the domestic influence on the children beyond the period when the Board has charge of them, we get the nurses to find apprenticeships for the boys, and service for the girls, as much as possible, with employers in their own neighbourhood, so that the children

may have an opportunity of visiting their nurses on the Saturday afternoons, or at other times when they get liberty; and, in these cases, the nurse continues her care over them, and washes and mends their clothes when necessary, for which they remunerate her.

"On such visits the children are received with friendly welcome as if it were their home, and they thus contract the habit of returning to it at intervals, assured of meeting with advice in difficulties, sympathy in distress, and heart-felt congratulations on success.

"In the event of a boy or girl having to leave their service, through sickness or otherwise, they return to their nurse's house, and are often supported there for months, without any remuneration ever being asked from the Board. Should the nurse, however, not be in a position to do this, or wish assistance, the Board readily grants it, but this is seldom asked.

"Many cases have come to my knowledge, where the child has in after life contributed towards the support of the nurse.

"The children are sent to board at all ages, but the younger they are sent so much the better.

"If sent when at the breast, the nurse cannot help having a strong affection for them. In those cases where the children are ten or eleven years of age, before they have come on the Parish, and whose previous training has been vicious, the same good result cannot be looked for; still, it is found that a religious education, kindness, and the moral influence of their new friends and associates, do much for them.

"Cases have occurred where such have acted well so long as under these influences, but on return to town, and meeting old friends, have fallen back into their old habits; hence this class are sent to the most distant localities, and situations found for them, in the district if possible, so that they may not be again brought into contact with their old associates.

"The children thus brought up, are not only well educated, but understand and can discharge the various duties in a household, which children brought up in a school or hospital know nothing of; hence our children are preferred as servants and apprentices, to the children brought up in the various hospitals in this city, at a cost of as much as £50 a year each.

"We are still compelled to have a number of

children in the Poorhouse, when their parents are in gaol, or in sickness, and therefore the chargeability merely casual; and amongst them we daily see the evil effects of having a larger number of such children congregated together, as not only do they encourage each other in present evil, but the fact of being inmates of such a place has a debasing influence on their after life.

"The evils attending the rearing of children in workhouses are well described in an article in the *Journal of the Workhouse Visiting Society* for September 1861. It states,—'The main objection to workhouse schools are, 1st, the keeping up a condition of pauperism in the children by the associations of the workhouse; 2nd, the impossibility of teaching useful knowledge to fit the children for practical life, without the contamination of the adult. Communication with the adults and the influence of the low tone of morality of pauperism are inevitable. The mere learning in school is insufficient to overcome it, and the teachers strive against it in vain.'

"The danger here adverted to, of keeping alive the spirit of pauperism, is one which this

Board has had particularly in view, and against which it has felt too many precautions could not be taken. In a large adjoining parish in Edinburgh, the managers or Guardians, some years ago, arranged a plan by which they personally visited the children, after they had been sent to service, and endeavoured to exercise a care over them; but it was found that the personal intercourse thus maintained by these parochial gentlemen, had the effect of keeping up in the children a feeling of their connection with the parish, and a depressing consciousness of dependence which was quite opposed to individual effort, and consequently to success in life.

"In fact, the blight of pauperism extended over, and deprived of beneficial influence, all these friendly communications, often well meant and attended with no small trouble on the part of the gentleman who engaged in it, and the plan had consequently to be relinquished. The cause of this want of success it is easy to discover. It was that these gentlemen in a higher station, having no connection with the children excepting that they were members of the parish Board, instead of forming a link between the child and the kindly influences of home which the nurse

can do, kept up a connection between the child and its former condition of pauperism, degrading it in its own eyes, and, when known to its fellows, subjecting it to their scorn.

"When a child is sent young to the country, or has been there for some time, and is taught to look on its nurse as its parent—I say parent, as we transact with the wife as the party having immediate charge, but the husband takes an equal interest in the child, and is equally regarded by it,—and when the nurses are themselves quite independent of the parish, the child regards itself as a member of the family, its connection with the parish is neither felt nor understood; and I have often found that the only idea it had, was a vague one that the assistant inspector, who called so frequently, had somehow some charge over it, but it had no idea that it was a pauper; and would treat with the same horror and contempt, as is entertained by the respectable working people, a proposal to remove it to the workhouse.

"This removal of the consciousness of a state of dependence on the parish, and the engendering of a spirit of self reliance which is cherished by the class with whom the children are brought

into contact, is a sure means of preventing them from lapsing into a state of hereditary pauperism; a result which can be obtained by no method that I am aware of but the family system adopted by this Board.

"In adopting this system, in restoring, as it were, the lost link, and giving these poor children new parents and homes with their sacred influences and endearing ties and associations, this Board is persuaded that they are acting in accordance with a law ordained by Him who has framed the moral government of the world; and the results obtained in the moral elevation and excellent education of the children, in adapting them for the duties they will be called on to discharge, in the position of life they are likely to occupy, have been such as might have been expected from a plan thus solemnly sanctioned."

Confirmation of this favourable Report by Mr. Greig—so far as she has had opportunities of observing—is communicated to us by a lady, who for many years has been led by her philanthropic labours among the working people of Edinburgh and the adjacent counties. She has thus become acquainted with some of the cottage

orphans, and all of those she has known have been well-treated by their nurses, and, so far as she is aware, have prospered in after-life. One of them, a foundling girl, became so dear to her foster-parents that when the Board ceased to pay for her they would not part with her, keeping her in their house till she was old enough for good service. "She was for six or seven years housemaid to my aunt," writes our informant, "and has since her death been in other good places, and is a clean notable servant. That poor family are so fond of her that the daughter used to tell me her old mother gazed at her as if she were a lovely picture every time she got out to see them; and the grandson considered her quite as an aunt."

Another correspondent—Dr. Browne, Commissioner in Lunacy—who has peculiar opportunities for investigation, having had his attention requested to the subject, has satisfied himself by observation and inquiry, that although the benevolent advocate, and we believe author of the plan, Mr. Greig, may view the system itself and its results under a somewhat rose-coloured aspect, yet it is assuredly a success. The benefit resulting from the natural

cottage life, as compared with the artificial existence within workhouse walls, he regards as incalculable; but the cottager class have failings, nay vices, of their own to be guarded against, and probably those are exceptional members of it only who are desirable as foster-parents. Moreover, a closer and more constant supervision he holds to be needful to prevent abuse. "To formularize my convictions," he concludes, "I should say that the system of boarding-out has been fairly tried, has been found satisfactory, and that if worked out and developed, it is calculated to enfeeble and perhaps ultimately to eradicate the pauper tendency; but that it may still be regarded as in progress, imperfect, and *sub judice*."

From the Report containing the satisfactory statistics quoted by Mr. Greig, relating to children placed in families by the Glasgow Parochial Board, we learn that this system has been pursued there for upwards of a hundred years; and that although the late Chairman of the Children's Committee "had at one time a strong feeling in favour of a large establishment where our orphan and deserted children could be kept and properly trained; and collected all the

information he could from similar institutions, both in this country and elsewhere, he never felt justified in proposing an alteration of our present system." [a]

"The family circle," continues the Report, "is the most natural one for the bringing up and training of children. It is of Divine appointment; and, in their humble endeavours to follow out this plan, the Committee feel confident they are more likely to succeed than by congregating a great number of children in an orphanage, where one wicked, bad child may be the means of corrupting many; while in a family, under the eye of a judicious and vigilant nurse, where there are only one or two children, perhaps only one, a bad child is all but incapable of doing injury to others. . . . . The children do not certainly come in from school or play with the precise, demure, and well-disciplined appearance that you find in a well-managed orphanage; but, what pleases the Committee more, they appear with a buoyancy of spirit, a confidence of manner, and happiness of countenance, which

[a] Report on the City Parish, Glasgow, Relief Rolls, by E. Adamson, Inspector of Poor, August, 1864.

show that they are at home, are happy, and well cared for." [a]

Mr. Beattie, who holds the same office in the Barony Parish that Mr. Adamson does in the City Parish of Glasgow, relates a touching incident, illustrative of the strong attachment which grows up between the foster-parents and children. A child who had been placed to board with a woman in his district was subsequently discovered to have its settlement in Edinburgh, whither the parochial Board of that city directed it should be removed. The foster-mother hearing that the child was to be taken from her, repaired in the utmost distress to Mr. Beattie, and besought him to obtain a reversal of the order. He explained to her that this was impossible; when, falling on her knees, the tears streaming down her cheeks, she implored him to let her keep the child as her own, without payment, for part with it she could not. And it was accordingly adopted by her.

The boarding-out system is pursued, as we have seen, by the parochial authorities at Aberdeen, where it has the approval of the benevolent

[a] Ibid.

and sagacious Sheriff Watson. He, however, is of opinion that simply official supervision exercised over the children, however conscientiously performed, is insufficient; and that a well-organised visiting society of ladies would be a valuable improvement.

PAUPER CHILDREN BOARDED OUT BY VOLUNTARY AGENCY IN ENGLAND.

A FEW years ago a lady interested for a little girl, left an orphan by the death of both parents who had been respectable working people, was desirous to secure her welfare and willing to meet the cost. She applied for aid to her friend Mrs. Archer of Kingsdowne House, near Swindon, in whose neighbourhood the child had dwelt. Mrs. Archer found a home for her in the family of a respectable cottager residing in her own village, and the success of the arrangement suggested to her a method of befriending the class of orphan pauper girls for whom, as the wife of an *ex officio* guardian, and taking herself a deep interest in the welfare of her humble neighbours, she had often had her sympathies aroused, and into which this child must have sunk but for her kind benefactress. In 1861 Mrs Archer published a short pamphlet setting

forth her scheme.[a] Addressing her fellow country-women, she proposes that as many as are able should form themselves, in each union, into a Society for the supervision of orphan girls in the receipt of out-door relief—such Societies, where desirable, to be combined in each county into an Association under the presidency of a lady of high standing.

By inducing the wives of guardians, *ex officio* and elected, and of the squires and clergymen of the parish, to become members, a strong local interest might be created, and the co-operation of the most influential class, be obtained. "All orphan children," she states, "in the receipt of poor-law relief are admitted to be,—as far as the Guardians are concerned, without friends or relatives able, wholly, to provide for them. A considerable number of these destitute children find their home in the workhouse. . . . It is not that the little girls in the workhouses are not fed and clothed properly, or that they have not a proper amount of school teaching, about which I am now raising a question; but I would wish it to be understood that under the work-

[a] A Scheme for befriending Orphan Pauper Girls, by Hannah Archer. Longmans, 1861.

house system of bringing them up, their minds are contracted and their affections stifled to such a degree that they are unfitted for being placed out in those situations of life where they would be likely to make a favourable impression and gain the goodwill of respectable employers. To remedy this evil I would propose that we should use our influence with Guardians, to get all such children placed with trustworthy cottagers, under whose care they may have the same advantages as other children, and the opportunity of gaining a proper knowledge of life before being thrown on their own resources." The workhouse orphan has "nothing in the world to cling to. The workhouse schoolmistress cannot do a mother's part to the many little girls of all ages from three to fourteen, placed under her charge. . . . She can be gentle with them, as a shepherd with a flock of lambs; but they are to her as a mass of human life, and one rule must answer for all." The attendance of the orphan at a national or other good school (to be proved by a certificate from the teacher) was made part of the plan; the relieving officer was to visit it periodically, while the lady who had selected its cottage home was to be responsible for its

kindly treatment there. "Members of the proposed association," Mrs. Archer adds, "would never have cause to apprehend that a number of destitute children would be left on their hands; for the responsibility of the children's maintenance would still rest with the constituted authorities." Previous to issuing her pamphlet, she had ascertained that the number of children in Wiltshire who might be dealt with by her plan was about 200, while there were nearly 48,000 houses in the county. Assuming half of these to belong to persons above the labouring class, there would still be considerably more than a hundred households from among which to select a suitable home for each child needing it. This fact, she trusted, would sufficiently refute the objection that appropriate cottages cannot be found. She was not then aware that the plan she was suggesting had already, for many years, been in operation on a large scale in Scotland and Ireland, and that in both countries homes were more abundant than children. Surely, even if proof to the contrary did not exist, it would be an unjustifiable aspersion on the "cottage homes of England" to assume that they are inferior in morality, cleanliness, and sympathy for the

orphan, to those of the sister kingdoms! Experience, however, has shown that, among the same population which supplies us with hundreds of thousands of respectable domestic servants, a safe and happy refuge for these forlorn children may be found.

In 1861 Mrs Archer obtained permission in her own Union (Highworth and Swindon) to try the plan, the Guardians granting two shillings a week for board and lodging, and ten or twelve shillings a quarter for clothing. The weekly allowance has recently been raised to two shillings and sixpence, and the grant for clothing fixed at ten shillings and sixpence. These sums do not cover all expenses, but Mrs Archer trusts to a portion of the cost being met by gifts, and she regards the union of voluntary effort with State aid—a combination which has proved eminently successful in reformatory and industrial schools, and in a greater or less degree in all subsidized institutions—as an important feature of the plan. She recommends that the example be followed of Mr. Müller the founder of the celebrated Orphan Asylum near Bristol, who "receives all gifts of all sorts for the use of the orphans, and those not directly useful he sells for their benefit.

. . . I cannot but believe that a great amount of donations in money and other things would be offered for the benefit of orphan paupers, if such children were under the beneficent superintendence of an association of ladies who would hold themselves accountable for the distribution of all charities entrusted to them for the purpose."

Three orphans in receipt of out-door relief, besides the little girl paid for privately, are now living in Mrs. Archer's village, where they excite much friendly sympathy among their neighbours rich and poor; and there are besides seven or eight more in other parishes of the Highworth and Swindon Union. These children vary in age from two to eleven years, and have never been in the workhouse, Mrs. Archer having succeeded in procuring their transfer on the death of their parents direct to the cottage homes,—a similar course to that pursued by Mrs. Way, and strongly to be approved, as the little creatures are thus not only saved the stigma attaching to workhouse life, but their future protectors are spared the difficulty and annoyance of cleansing them from the foulness of skin and hair which may be contracted in one day's

association with the offspring of the casual pauper or tramp.

The plan pursued in the Highworth Union was brought by Mr. Hawley, Inspector for that district under the notice of the Poor Law Board, who, in December, 1865, requested the Guardians to inform them of the circumstances which had led to its adoption. Their answer was as follows:—

"*December 20th*, 1865.—As regards your inquiry respecting orphan pauper children, we beg to state that this Board has observed with very great regret, that the orphan pauper girls who have been brought up in the workhouse have as a rule turned out badly, seldom remaining in the situations provided for them by the Guardians and others who have taken an interest in them; and in great numbers of instances returning to the house abandoned women with bastards. In consequence of this the Guardians, after giving the subject a great deal of thought and consideration, unanimously determined to give out-door relief to orphan girls in cases where respectable cottagers could be found to take charge of them. The children thus having the same home-life and training as other cottage

children, it is hoped that a better state of things might be brought about. The Board beg to observe, that in no case have they relieved such children who are past the age of sixteen, nor where the guardians considered that either of them is sufficiently able-bodied to earn her own livelihood." Nine female orphans were stated to be then receiving out-door relief on this system.

In a reply dated February, 1866, the Secretary to the Poor Law Board said he was "directed to state, that as these children are orphans, and of so tender an age as not to come under the Out Prohibitory Order, it must rest with the Guardians to decide whether they will continue to grant out-relief in the manner referred to." The competency of local Boards to adopt Mrs. Archer's plan—as regards young children certainly—is thus laid down by the highest authority. That they may relieve, out of the workhouse, deserted children between seven and sixteen years of age, not being able-bodied, had, indeed, already been stated by the Central Board, in a correspondence with the Droitwitch Union, dated March, 1848.[a]

[a] Official Circular of the Poor Law Board, Vol. VII., p. 199.

In February, 1862, her views were ably advocated by Mr. O'Shaughnessy, who adduced the long and successful experience of the Protestant Orphan Society in favour of the boarding-out system. [a] This subject he had already brought before the public at the Social Science Congress the previous autumn, in an exhaustive paper, to which he appended a Bill "to enable Boards of Guardians in Ireland to make provision for the maintenance of poor orphans and other young children, in families." [b]

An article in *All the Year Round* for October 1862, entitled "The Girl from the Workhouse," apprised Mrs. Archer that pauper children had for eight or nine years been boarded, at Sandbach in Cheshire, in families under the supervision of the Vicar, Mr. Armistead, whose pastoral labours for nearly a quarter of a century had rendered his parish a model one; and, on communicating with him, he expressed his warm approval of her plan. A few months previously he had related his own

[a] "The Workhouse System; where Legal Provision for the Relief of the Poor falls short, and Woman's Work begins." Dublin, printed by Webb and Sons, 1862.

[b] "On the rearing of Pauper Children out of the Workhouse." *Social Science Transactions*, 1861.

experience, in his evidence before the Select Committee on Poor Relief. Having interested himself in the training of pauper children in various parts of the country since the introduction of the new Poor Law, and as an active *ex officio* guardian in his own union for many years, he had long before arrived at the opinion, that while the State stands to them *in loco parentis*, it gives them no parental education. As regards girls, *segregation* not *congregation*, he emphatically maintained, must be the system pursued; and thus in his opinion the District School even intensified the evils of the ordinary Workhouse School. These lie in the impossibility of individual treatment, in the utter seclusion of the pupils from the rest of the world, so that they go forth like uncaged birds with no experience of life; and in the lack of the system to provide any friend or refuge to which they may turn in temptation or distress, however dire. To use the words of the *Times* in an article deprecating the establishment of an asylum for cholera orphans, (which elicited an able letter from S. G. O. [a] in support of the boarding-out system) "the children" [educated in masses], "are

[a] *Times*, August 21, 1866.

brought up in a formal, unnatural way, cut off from the lessons of actual life; and when at length they are sent out into the world, they are like caged canaries turned adrift among sparrows." [a]

Mr. Armistead, being pressed by Mr. Villiers to admit that workhouse girls obtain good places, if not with the upper, at least with employers of the middle classes, he answered, that during his connexion for twenty-four years with the Board of his own union, he had never known an instance of a girl leaving it for service in a gentleman's family; although, for girls from the National school (where there was a department for industrial training) he had more applications than he could supply. He was persuaded the same objection prevailed throughout the country as regarded the children from workhouse and district schools. A few, indeed, may be engaged by persons of the middle rank, benevolent enough to take the trouble of training them, and these, he believed, seldom fail to do well. That such are rare cases, an instance within our own knowledge tends to prove. A high-class tradesman, filling the post of elected guardian, who

[a] *Times*. August, 17th, 1866.

felt much sympathy for the young girls in his union, asked his wife if she could take one into her service. She answered, it was impossible to undertake the responsibility of a workhouse girl. Yet the union in question has excellent schools; and the girls receive industrial, as well as intellectual instruction.

As regarded all but the exceptional few, frequent and rapid, Mr. Armistead was convinced, was the downward career of pauper girls. Taken from the workhouse often for temporary service, and into places where they can learn nothing to fit them for better situations, they are soon dismissed with no power of improving their position; but, having tasted liberty, they are unwilling to submit again to the restrictions of the workhouse. While seeking another place, they take such a lodging as their scanty means and ignorance of the world induce them to be satisfied with, and, wholly uncontrolled and unguarded, ruin is almost inevitable. Where supervision by the parochial officer is exercised, it has often a disastrous effect upon the object of it, by revealing her connexion with the workhouse, as Mr. Armistead quoted instances to

show. While imputing no intentional misrepresentation to the returns, cited in proof of the success in after life of young women who had received a pauper education, the result of his own extensive and minute inquiries precluded him from placing in them any confidence.

Describing his own method of proceeding, he had obtained, he said, a permissive order from his Board to take the children out of the Workhouse, on his engaging to maintain them on an allowance not exceeding their cost within it; and he placed them to board with respectable cottagers, requiring that they should attend the National School. His own parish afforded a sufficiency of such homes, and every case had proved successful. The affection of the foster-parents had far exceeded his expectations. When they happened to be childless, their wards seemed to take the place of offspring of their own; and he mentioned an instance in illustration. A married couple had become thus attached to a boy he had put under their care. The wife died, but a sister replaced her as housekeeper, and the boy remained. One day the widower came to Mr. Armistead, and stating that he

found his health failing, said, "I have £15 in the savings bank, and I should be very sorry if this lad should ever come to any harm; I wish you would make me a will with regard to this little money, in order that it may be expended in apprenticing him, and taking care of him when I am gone." On the mutual affection of foster-parents and children Mr. Armistead also relied to afford help and shelter for the ward in after life should it be needed. In proposing to the Select Committee the introduction into the Poor Law Act of a permissive clause authorizing the adoption of his plan, he suggested, as an efficient safeguard against ill-treatment by the cottager, that a quarterly report on the condition of each child should be made after personal investigation by three distinct parties—the clergyman of the parish, the guardian of the township, and the relieving officer of the district; and he stated that he considered *all* workhouse children might be advantageously boarded out, except the offspring of able-bodied paupers. No difficulty on religious grounds need, he believed, prevent so extensive an adoption of the plan. The children of Dissenters might, if needful, be placed with Dissenting foster-parents, and attend

a British School; but in his own parish the question had never been raised.[a]

Miss Boucherett, residing in Lincolnshire, happening to meet with Mrs. Archer's pamphlet, obtained permission to try the plan from the Guardians of her own union, some of whom had long been dissatisfied with the results of workhouse training for girls. We quote the following account of her experiment addressed to the Editor of the *Englishwoman's Review*. "In reply to your inquiries respecting my orphans, I beg to say that it is just three years and a half since I took out the two first. They were already fourteen and twelve years of age, so I had but a bad chance of doing them much good. "Their habits and persons were extremely dirty; yet I do not believe our workhouse to be worse than the average. These two girls have now been earning their bread as servants; the eldest for two years and a half, the younger one for nearly two years; both, so far, are well conducted, though the youngest is a foolish, thoughtless creature.

[a] Second Report of the Select Committee on Poor Relief. House of Commons. 1862.

"I have, in these three years and a half, taken out altogether eleven girls and one boy; the four eldest are doing well in service. A fifth proved totally unmanageable, committed a theft, and has been sent to a school reformatory, under sentence for five years. I hear she is doing exceedingly well, and is likely to be a reformed character. She was as complete a savage, when first taken out of the workhouse, as an African from Lake N'yanza. The rest are still children, living with their foster-parents.

"The elder ones have not, in all cases, made such friends with their foster-parents as will enable them to return to them if out of place; but I think it will prove different with the younger ones. I now take them out under ten years of age, and should prefer them at a much earlier age; but it would be very difficult to find homes for them under eight or nine. It does not answer to place orphans with a low-class of persons, even if kindly disposed and humane. To make good servants, they must be under the *very best* class of poor.

"I have seen the physically low type of these children much commented on, and described as if they were hereditarily inferior, and a

distinct class from other poor. I have had such a case of disease among my girls. The appearances were entirely removed in about eighteen months, by an unlimited allowance of bacon, milk, cheese, and bread and butter, with some beer, and two shillings worth a week of butcher's meat. The old woman, who acted as foster-mother to the child, said she ate as much bacon as a grown man, besides the butcher's meat. I am quite convinced that it is the miserable gruel, the ill cooked food, and the long fasts between meals, which fill these wretched children with disease.

"My girls are all fat and rosy now, and I hope that almost all will turn out respectable. It will perhaps be thought that for one of the five first taken to turn out ill is a large proportion of failure; but the year before I began to take the girls, *three* out of five returned disgraced to the workhouse after their first year of service. I consider, however, that in the present state of the law respecting the morals of the poor, it is *certain* that a considerable percentage even of the best brought up girls will turn out ill. Women of the middle classes live under different laws; and are protected by the law,

which servant girls are not. [a] Still, good training and principles will save many, who left in the workhouse must surely fall.

"When I send a child into a parish which is beyond my own supervision, the wife of the clergyman looks after it; sees that the child goes to school three or four days a week in the afternoon, and lets me know if it is ill or wants anything. The children do not go to school in the morning. They have got plenty of book-learning in the workhouse; and what they want to learn is household work, which is done by helping their foster-mother in her domestic affairs; but, by going to school in the afternoons,

[a] "We suppose that the writer alludes to the fact that women who have money are protected against breach of promise of marriage, which poor girls are not, as the suit can only be brought in a civil court, and is therefore expensive. We have little doubt that the ruin of these girls is generally effected by a false promise of marriage. When such a thing happens in the middle ranks, an indignant jury inflicts damages so heavy as to be a severe punishment; and the example deters other young men from the same conduct. In the lower ranks there is no punishment for perfidy of this sort. It is therefore true that rich and poor are under different laws on this point. Those who most require protection receive none.—Ed. *E. R.*"

It has been suggested that by making county courts competent to dispose of such cases, legal redress would be brought within reach of poor women.

they keep up their book-knowledge, and improve in needle-work.

"The allowance given by the guardians to the foster-mother is two shillings and ninepence a week, the same that it would cost to keep the child in the workhouse. Thirty-five shillings is given for an outfit when they come to me,—nothing when they leave. I try to fit them for service at thirteen years of age,—not sooner, even if fit to go, as it would not be fair on the woman who had trained them to take them away the moment they become of real use. If I did so I could not find homes so easily. This is no injustice to the ratepayers, as they would often remain in the workhouse till fourteen or fifteen, and return afterwards.

"Last summer the Guardians resolved, 'That out-door relief should be always given, when possible, to women and children.' This Resolution is my greatest triumph, because it shows the conviction of the Guardians that the workhouse is necessarily a place of corruption, which is the truth.

"When I sent the first girls out to service, I gave them plenty of good clothes. There cannot be greater folly. They should have only

bare necessaries; and should feel that they must work to get more. The foster-mothers ought to be very kind people, but it does not answer to get a very kind *first mistress*, or the girls are lazy. Firm, strict mistresses are the best at first; but they must be watched to see that no real cruelty or dreadful over-work is inflicted.

"This is the most delightful and least costly [a] mode of doing good. With care and attention I believe success to be certain; and the change in the poor little things' looks, and manners, and ways, is really pleasant. They are so happy and pleased, so healthy and rosy; and their letters afterwards say much for the health of their hearts and minds. Nothing makes me so happy as riding about to visit my children. It is a complete recipe for happiness.

"You will perhaps like to see a letter from one of the orphans to her foster-mother.

"Yours faithfully,

"L. B.

"*November*, 1866."

[a] "The cost of clothing each girl is about £1 5s. a year to me. Perhaps with journeys and other extras, six girls cost me £10 a year altogether. The two pounds of butcher's meat a week for the diseased child, I paid for myself. It is the only instance in which I have given anything for extra food."

The letter referred to we give *verbatim.* The writer is a girl of seventeen, who has been two years in service.

"My dear Friend,

"I received your kind and welcome letter on Wednesday morning all safe. I was very much pleased to hear from you. I thought perhaps you had lost my address, and I did not know but what you knew I was at Mr. S.'s. It did not enter my head you had forgotten me. I should very much like to have seen C—— and M—— when they were at home, but it was not to be this time; but I hope we shall all meet again at May-day next.

"You said in your letter that Miss B. had been kind enough to enquire what wages I had. I have £5 a-year. When you see Miss B. thank her kindly for the kindness she has done for me; but for the benevolence of such a lady I should have been in workhouse yet.

"I am very sorry to hear your little girl is so ill, but I hope she will be better the next time you write. Give my love to all inquiring friends.

"I remain your affectionate daughter,

"M. G.

"*P.S.*—Excuse me for using such an expression as daughter, but I think I was brought up as your own

child. Excuse my mistakes as I am in great hurry. I have got to be nursemaid now." [a]

Miss Boucherett, like Mrs. Archer, is impressed with the importance of obtaining the co-operation and sympathy of the honest poor for these forlorn little creatures; and, partly from this motive, partly to benefit by their practical experience, she often seeks their advice in making her arrangements. She one day applied to a woman, who was busy at her wash-tub, for counsel respecting the outfit suitable for the orphans when going to service. She gave very sensible advice, but without stopping a moment in her operations, and with so little courtesy of manner that her interlocutor felt tempted to curtail her questioning. She remained, however, until she had obtained the information she wanted, when, as she turned to depart, the woman paused in her work, and said, with her hands clasped in the suds, "The Lord prosper you, and bless the poor lasses!"

Miss Boucherett has adopted the following mode, in applying for orphans to the guardians.

[a] *The Englishwoman's Review.* January, 1867. London: 23 Great Marlborough Street.

Having selected a child, and found for it a home, she informs the relieving officer of its name, and the name of the woman with whom it is to board, and of the parish in which she lives—stating, also, that the woman is known to be respectable to the guardian for that parish. She requests the relieving officer to state these facts at the next Board meeting, and her desire to be allowed to remove the child from the workhouse; and, leave being granted, she takes the foster-mother there to fetch the child. Before communicating with the relieving officer she sees or writes to the guardian in whose parish the child will be placed, informing him of her arrangement, and asking him to attend the Board and support her application. Annually, she sends to the Board a report on each child under her care.

Twenty-five children have been thus taken out of the Workhouse by Miss Boucherett since she began her benevolent work; and it is satisfactory to know that as the operation of the plan becomes better understood, the number of suitable applicants for the care of the young people increases.

This system has made its way even to the

Antipodes! A lady living in South Australia, and who takes much interest in the juvenile inmates of the Destitute Asylum at Adelaide (an institution analogous to our workhouses), was pained to observe the pauper spirit developing among these little ones. Meeting with the account of Mr. Greig's plan quoted by Miss Cobbe in "The Philosophy of the Poor laws," she was impressed with its adaptability to the circumstances of the Colony. Having found a suitable cottage home, ascertained the cost of a child in the asylum, and calculated that for the same sum it might be boarded-out, she stated these facts to the Chief-Secretary for the Colony, and asked permission to take from the Asylum a little boy peculiarly fitted for the experiment. Her request was not only readily granted, but she was invited to select *two* children. She did so; and has since taken out more, while some other ladies being permitted to do likewise, eight or nine children have thus been restored to family life. It is too early yet to speak of results; but after several months' trial of the plan the lady who introduced it into the Colony is convinced that it is in principle sound, and that guarded from abuse by careful supervision it

must afford superior training to that possible in any institution. The trouble, however, resulting in one or two instances from the interference of parents leads her to the conclusion that it should be limited in its operation to orphans.

The high value of labour in new countries is favourable to its success; there children are constituents of wealth, and in households to which none have been born, they are gladly received for the industrial help they can give as well as from more kindly motives. Several years ago the New York Juvenile Asylum and the Children's Aid Society in the same city, adopted the plan of transferring its wards as quickly as possible to private families, especially in agricultural districts; and there is abundant evidence to show that the young people are as a rule treated on an equality with the other members of the domestic circle. Supervision, so far as possible, is exercised by the officers of the Society; and a gratifying circumstance occurred in the State of Illinois, in the voluntary formation of several Associations to watch over the children who might be sent into their neighbourhood."[a]

Soon after the commencement of the late civil

[a] *Irish Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1858.

war in America, a third institution of this character —the Howard Mission—arose in New York for the relief of destitute children, and other charitable purposes. Already it has relieved several thousand children, almost all of whom are immigrants, or the offspring of foreigners,—chiefly German and Irish sunk in the depths of poverty or vice,—and very touching letters show how thoroughly they have become the adopted children of the families they have entered. The course pursued is to receive them into the Mission Home until suitable families are found wherein to place them, which is usually very speedily accomplished. From time to time the superintendent starts with a batch of fifty or sixty for the interior, and locates them as he goes along; and such is the liberality of American railway and steamboat companies, that these "Little Wanderers" travel free of all charge. Last year the Superintendent, who is also the founder of the Institution, the Rev. W. C. Vanmeter, visited England, and preaching in several large towns obtained for it considerable donations. He took back with him several children, among them two little orphan girls who otherwise must have gone to the workhouse. In a published letter from

him to the master of the St. James' Back Ragged School at Bristol, from which institution two of the lads who accompanied him had been sent, he says,—

"HOWARD MISSION AND HOME FOR LITTLE WANDERERS,
37 NEW BOWERY, NEW YORK, MARCH 21*st*, 1867.

"MY DEAR MR. SHIPPERLEY,

"This morning Benjamin E. from Bath, went to a home with Mr. B., New Boston, Berkshire, County of Massachusetts. He is an intelligent Christian; has a good pious wife and one son; Benjamin will call them father and mother, and be treated as their child. He will be brought up as a careful, thorough Yankee farmer. While he was with us he conducted himself with delicate propriety, and won all our hearts. I wish you would send me a thousand like him. Every mother should strive to do the best possible thing for her children. Now the question resolves itself into this,—Will Englishmen permit these gems to grow up in a workhouse, or shall they be welcomed to the hearts and homes of intelligent Christian families in America? Admit the statement to be correct, namely, that in England, families will not take the children as we do here, it only proves that they have not risen high enough in the scale of benevolence. The world has the right to expect that Christianity will do more for these poor

little ones than to build workhouses and orphan asylums for them. I would have the workhouse, but merely for extreme and temporary cases.

"This placing of infants and small children in orphan asylums and workhouses, and dooming them to spend several years in them, is a shame to Christianity. That community has arrived at a very low standard of charity that shuts its dwellings against these little ones, no matter how richly endowed may be its benevolent institutions. *Money* is the lowest type of representing charitable feeling. But I am not writing an essay on this subject.

"John,[a] whom I first placed with the engraver, is with Mr.— at Marlborough, Monmouth County, New Jersey. He came on a visit to me on Monday of this week, and returned yesterday. He is very happy, and speaks highly of the family. While here he went to Newark to visit Mr.—, who first took him and the little orphan sisters. All are well. William[a] is with Mr.— of Smithfield, Massachusetts. A letter just received speaks in very high terms of him. He is in school and does finely. Yours truly,

"W. C. VANMETER."[b]

For girls between three and twelve Mr. Vanmeter can find homes in abundance. The cost of emigrating a child of that age by the

[a] The lads who went from Bristol.

[b] *Western Daily Press*, April, 1867.

Inman line is £4 or £5, besides which £2 must be sent to defray expenses at the Howard Mission before a suitable family is found; a modest outfit is necessary, and a small sum would be required to recompense some respectable female passenger for taking charge of the child on the voyage. From reliable authority in New York we learn that though Mr. Vanmeter is regarded by the more cautious of his fellow citizens as somewhat over-sanguine, he yet receives their sympathy and pecuniary aid in a large degree; while the success which continues to be attained by a long-established institution conducted on the same plan with his, proves the soundness of his principle. May it not be worthy of the consideration of Poor law guardians in this country to investigate the claims of the Howard Mission to confidence, and, if found trustworthy, to organize a system of child-emigration—sending, we would venture to suggest, only children who have not entered the workhouse, and are orphans of respectable parentage, who by their conduct in their adopted country should bring no discredit on the land of their birth? Of course, if such a plan were pursued on any but the smallest scale, it would not suffice to rely

upon the escort of fellow-travellers; but were a matron employed to conduct groups of these little emigrants to New York the cost of each child could hardly exceed £11—no extravagant sum with which to purchase for it a future career of usefulness and prosperity; and absolutely less than would be its expense for one year's maintenance at home in the cheapest District School.

PAUPER CHILDREN BOARDED OUT BY POOR LAW GUARDIANS IN ENGLAND.

SOME ten years since the Guardians of Leominster Union adopted the boarding-out system for the orphans, both boys and girls, under their care, as a means of rescuing them from the contamination of the workhouse; and they are well satisfied with the plan which they still pursue. About 150 children have thus been dealt with, and seventeen are at the present time (May, 1867), in cottage homes. They are placed in superior cottages only, where they will have good domestic training; and attendance at school is expressly stipulated for. The payment is two shillings and sixpence a-week, if the foster parent provides clothes, and two shillings where these are supplied by the Board. The Relieving Officers superintend the orphans, and in case of complaint the child and its foster-parent are brought before the Board. Most of the

young people eventually go to service, and it is believed that the domestic knowledge they have gained procures for them better situations than they would otherwise obtain. These are usually found for them by their foster-parents, the sanction of the Guardians being, however, required before an engagement is made.

The history of the efforts to secure the best attainable training for the children under their care, made by the Guardians of Eton Union, while highly honourable, to them, is peculiarly instructive in our present investigation. In Mr. Tuffnell's report for 1862 we find the school of that Union described as admirable in every department, so far as could be ascertained by two independent inspectors—himself and the Diocesan School Inspector; while the success of the pupils in the Diocesan Prize Association seemed to afford a further proof of the excellence of their training. "Any one," says Mr. Tuffnell, "reading the above account, might possibly conclude that the school was perfection; and it may excite some surprise when I state that, on close examination, the school appeared in so unsatisfactory a condition that it was

determined to break it up and send all the children to the Central London District School, where they now are; and I fully concurred in this decision of the Guardians."

Before arriving at this determination the Guardians had caused a Return to be made, showing the particulars, so far as they were known, of all the children placed out as servants or apprentices from January 1st, 1858, to December 31st, 1861. More than 40 per cent. had turned out ill!

"Towards the close of 1863, however, we find the Guardians again dissatisfied with the position of their children. Their health was not good, and the cost of their maintenance at the district school was almost double that in the workhouse, while many of the evils of the latter were not avoided. The guardians resolved upon a second change, and addressed a letter to the Poor Law Board explanatory of their reasons—an abstract of which will be found in a Report published by them last year.[a] The industrial training in the larger institution is admitted to be superior, but "in the one school

[a] *Home Training for Pauper Children.* Printed by E. Herbert, Slough, 1866.

as in the other, children are brought up under conditions the very reverse of those, which, by the very constitution of human society and by the experience of all time, are pointed out as naturally best adapted for the development of the child's powers physical, intellectual, and moral." Contrasting *family* life—of which habits of observation and self-government are the natural result, and where the child "learns to bear and forbear, to seek help and to give it, to suffer and to enjoy, and out of many failures to act, as out of many falls he learns to walk,"—with life in the workhouse, where, amid the four whitewashed walls of the "nursery" and the four brick walls of the "yard," the "same objects and the same faces come before the eye day after day, the same events repeat themselves at the same hours with the wearying monotony of a well-ordered system," they declare the latter to be "as unfavourable to healthy moral growth as to vigorous development of the physical and intellectual powers."

Passing from the Workhouse to the District School, the child "is once more in an atmosphere of mechanical routine and of compulsory discipline, as different as can well be conceived

from that of the family—or from those conditions of outward life, upon which at fourteen years of age, or it may be a year or two later, it will suddenly enter," when it goes forth into actual social life. "With a training so wholly unnatural," the Eton guardians conclude, "it is rather matter for wonder that any should turn out well, than that many should turn out very ill."

Their experience of the District, as of the Workhouse, School having proved unsatisfactory, they were utterly at a loss what course to adopt. At length it occurred to them to place the children to board with respectable cottagers. Suitable homes were found upon the following terms:—The Guardians were to allow three shillings and sixpence a week, to be paid weekly by the relieving officer of the district for board and lodging. They were to provide an outfit of clothing, and after the expiration of three months six shillings and sixpence quarterly was to be paid in advance for wardrobe expenses; or, at their option, the Guardians would supply fresh clothes,—these in either case to be considered the property of the Board. The children were to attend a Sunday school where practicable, to be

sent regularly to school on week-days (the fees being paid by the Guardians) until the age of thirteen, when they might be employed for wages in any labour approved by the Guardians, two-thirds of the wages to be deducted by the relieving officer from his weekly payments, and the remaining one-third to be the property of the person having charge of the child, in compensation for the extra expense in food and clothing its employment might entail.

The Report from which we quote was issued after a three years' trial of the plan. Experience had led the Guardians to add to the supervision of the relieving officer, by a visit to the children, at least twice a year, from members of their own body, who should in writing state their condition,—this report to be supplemented, if possible, by a similar one from the clergyman of the parish in which the children are placed. From the latest return, dated October, 1866, we learn there were then thirty-four children placed out. Opposite to each name we find a short report on the condition of the child, made after personal inspection, by either a guardian or a clergyman, uniformly satisfactory as regards the conduct of the children, and in only two instances pointing

out anything to be remedied in their treatment. A visit we have ourselves recently paid (without appointment, that it might not be prepared for) to some of the Eton children, confirmed our already favourable opinion of the boarding-out system, as good for both mind and body, and affording a wholesome training for after life.

The total cost of the children, when at Hanwell, amounted to an average of 8s. per week each; in the workhouse it had been 4s. 2¼d., while in the cottage it is 4s. 2d. To the latter must be added the outfit of clothes, with a box, a bible, and a prayer-book, supplied to each child when put out to board, and an annual gratuity of £5 to the relieving officers for their extra trouble. "These charges, however, are far more than met," the Report informs us, "by the sums received on account of wages earned by some of the older children, which have amounted in the last three years to £121 0s. 6d."

The School Committee, in their report, discuss the important question of the *class* of children whom it is desirable to board out; and with reference to the illegitimate and deserted, state that, although it would be greatly

to their advantage to be thus dealt with, they agree with the Poor Law Board that the spectacle of such children being brought up under the favourable circumstances now enjoyed in the Eton union by the orphans of respectable parents, would have an effect injurious to the morality of the lower classes (an opinion from which we must dissent), and for them they recommend a small district school, such as that at Cowley; while they advise that children admitted with their parents, temporarily, into the workhouse should remain there. In conclusion, the committee "express their strong conviction that the system adopted by this Board is greatly to be preferred both to the old workhouse school, and to the district schools, such as those of Hanwell and Norwood. How far what has been done here can be done, or is desirable to be done elsewhere, it is not for this committee to judge. But the unanimous votes by which, without one exception for the last three years, they have been supported by the Guardians of this union, give your committee the great satisfaction of knowing that their own opinion of the value of our present system is shared by all those in whose name they are privileged to act."

OUT-DOOR PAUPER CHILDREN.

THE numbers of paupers, especially of juvenile paupers, relieved indoors, are so vastly exceeded by those receiving out-door relief, that the latter deserve our particular attention. The young people already described as "boarded-out" belong indeed to this class; but they consist almost entirely of orphans and deserted children over whom the authorities have complete control. A far larger body are those who reside with their parents, and into whose hands are entrusted such allowances as Guardians may grant in the children's behalf. In some respects, especially if their parents be vicious or negligent, these little creatures are more unfortunately placed than those who are wholly "Children of the State;" but under one important aspect they are infinitely more happy,—they are not forlorn waifs and strays stranded out of reach of the tide of domestic affection, but are members of exis-

ting families; and were the parish money given for their benefit, but which too often only provides the parents with additional means for indulgence in drink, discreetly administered, we believe not only would the children receive proportionate advantage, but the good wrought upon them would react—as the influence of the Aberdeen Industrial Schools reacts,—upon the parents themselves.

It has been suggested that the misappropriation of out-relief intended to buy food for the child, to purposes of vicious indulgence by the parent, might be prevented by the establishment of parochial dining halls (of humble character) for children, where tickets, granted instead of money by the Board, might be convertible into a proportionate amount of wholesome food; and that existing soup kitchens might be utilized for this object by way of experiment. [a]

But to ensure the attendance at school of this class—a hardly less important object than the sustenance of their bodies,—sufficient machinery already exists. In 1860 the Rev. George Hans Hamilton, Vicar of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and Chairman of the Pauper School Committee, in a

[a] Letter to the *Western Daily Press*. Sept. 30, 1866.

letter to Mr. Browne, Inspector of Schools, detailed a plan by which this end was in his union achieved. [a] For many years all out-door pauper children who dwelt near enough to the workhouse schools to attend them, had been admitted free of charge. The master and mistress were required to report any irregularity of attendance, and the relieving officers to investigate the cause; and the consequence was that these children attended more regularly and for longer periods than the pupils of any other school in the town. Their numbers infused energy into the teachers; and, far exceeding those of the indoor scholars, they seemed to inspire these in some degree with the healthy tone of free out-door life. [b]

For children dwelling beyond reach of the workhouse school, the provisions of 18 and 19 Vict., Cap. 34, familiarly known as "Denison's Act," enabling Guardians to pay the school-fees of out-door juvenile paupers, were carried into effect. These provisions had been suggested by

[a] *Journal of the Workhouse Visiting Society*, Sept., 1860.

[b] Testimony to the similar wholesome influence of day-scholars at Industrial Schools is given by the Rev. Sydney Turner. See Tenth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools, p. 21.

Mr. Hamilton himself in his evidence before a committee of the House of Commons in 1853, but were proposed by him to be made compulsory instead of only permissive. In his own union, however, where he devoted himself to their application, they were brought to bear on every out-door pauper child. "Our plan," he informs Mr. Browne, "is this:—The relieving officer of each district in the union takes from his books the names and ages of all the children who are of an age to attend school, and reports to the Board whether or not they are attending any school. Those that are found to be systematically absent from school are, through their parents, offered the advantage of free schooling, and the Board name a cheap school in each locality to which pauper children may be sent; and they supply the master or mistress of each of these schools with a book ruled in a proper form to register the attendance of the children. The relieving officer enters the children of the neighbourhood in his register at the beginning of each quarter, and the school committee pay the master or mistress the school wages at the end of each quarter for every week in which a child has attended four full days. Thus the school-

master is made aware of what children in his immediate neighbourhood the Board are willing to pay him for, and he is induced to use his influence to get the children to attend regularly, by knowing that he will not be paid for any week wherein a child has not attended four full days. The result of this system is now most satisfactory. It has been worked for upwards of four years; and, for a comparatively small outlay, *every* out-door pauper child, of the proper age in this union, is receiving an education suitable to its condition of life. During the last year I find that we have paid the school wages of about one hundred children under the permissive powers of 18 and 19 Vict., and that the cost of their education amounts to £50 10s. 7d."

The Rev. Walter L. Clay, in a paper, "On the Education of Destitute and Neglected Children," read before the Social Science Association in February, 1866, advocates the passing of an Act authorising Guardians to refuse out-door relief for children unless the parents consent to send them to a school under Government inspection, the cost to be paid, not by the ratepayers, but by the Privy Council. He describes, in detail, the method by which he proposes the plan

should be carried into execution, and estimates that between 40,000, and 50,000 children might thus be educated at a cost to the State of about £10,000 per annum.[a]

In April of the present year a letter we addressed to Mr. (now Archdeacon) Hamilton, inquiring if the same system still prevails at Berwick with similar results, brought this gratifying answer,—"Nothing," writes the Archdeacon, "can work better than this Act. It unpauperizes the pauper, and in a short time 'pays.' The same good results continue in the Berwick Union to the present time. Every pauper child in the Union of the school age is at least four days a week at school. The expense is but small. There are several hundreds of thousands of out-door pauper children receiving some millions a year in out-door relief. The legitimate influence of this large sum of money ought to be brought to bear upon the children's moral and religious character—and therefore the justice

[a] *Social Reform in England*, by Lucien Davesiés de Pontés, translated by the Widow of the Author; with appendices by the Translator. London, Cassell & Co., 1866. This valuable work, from the pen of a distinguished French critic, contains, among other highly instructive essays, one upon "Pauperism," of which it presents a succinct but complete history, with a narrative of the legislative Acts it has called forth.

and propriety of the law 18 and 19 Vict.: and if this enactment were brought before Parliament with a view to make it compulsory, then the worst cases of educational destitution would be met, and the class immediately above the paupers would be shamed into going to some of the many penny-a-week National Schools which now abound."

A domestic missionary in one of our great cities furnishes us with a striking instance of the abuse he constantly witnesses of out-door relief. At this moment (June, 1867) a widow, two sons of twelve and fourteen, and a daughter aged probably sixteen, who is liable to fits, are depending on it for maintenance. The children attend no school, and are neither at work nor learning any means of self-support, and at night the whole family occupy one bed! Another case we speak of from our own knowledge. A widow receives relief for two children and has no other apparent means of subsistence. The children occasionally attend a free Ragged School, their absence from which for several days induced a visit to their home. One, a little girl, wearing a single ragged garment which did not half cover her body, was grubbing among

the ashes (it was winter) of a fireless grate. The other, a boy of ten or eleven, evidently suffering from illness, lay absolutely naked on the miserable bed; his whole body was foul with vermin, and upon his head were huge sores of their making. The mother was absent, no one knew where, but the neighbours intimated she would probably return the worse for drink.

The Board of Guardians in the city referred to have in some cases applied the provisions of Denison's Act; but though the children's school-fees are paid, their attendance is frequently very irregular from want of some such method to secure it as that described by Archdeacon Hamilton. Where, however, the parent appreciates the boon of education, or from any other cause regular schooling accompanies relief, the missionary assures us it is often the saving of a family from ruin.

Why the provisions of Denison's Act have not long since been made compulsory is an insoluble problem to the uninitiated; while, on the other hand, to some at least of the authorities of the Poor Law Department the proposal that they should be made compulsory appears, it would seem, a suggestion that the lunacy

of the proposer alone could account for. "To put a remote object like education forward," says Mr. Coode, Poor Law Inspector, "as your plea for not giving relief which is at present wanted, is to cut up root and branch the whole object and principle of the Poor law."[a]

If it be a true interpretation of that principle to declare that it involves the support more or less entire by rate-payers of 100,000 children who are attending no school, and are therefore in all probability qualifying themselves to become a permanent burden on the country, and the progenitors of a similar but multiplied burden in years to come, then we say the sooner that principle *is* "cut up root and branch" the better.

For the independence of the poor our respect cannot be too tender; but a corollary of such respect is the resignation on their part of the privilege of self-government in proportion to their acceptance of State aid. Alms, whether public or private, never, it is to be feared, can be productive of unmixed good; and it is not only our right, but our heavy responsibility to provide that they shall bring as little evil as possible. To the profligate or even negligent parent, out-

[a] Poor Relief Committee Report, 1861.

relief for his child is even a *bonus* on his wrong-doing; and we fail in our duty towards him and ourselves if we do not so administer it as to reduce that *bonus* to the lowest practicable amount. To the right-minded parent no restriction tending to the benefit of his offspring will be regarded as an evil; but as among such parents there may yet be many who have never learnt the value of schooling, it is the duty of the State to avail herself of the right to exercise authority which her share in the child's maintenance bestows, and ensure to it that wholesome training which its parent through ignorance would fail to provide. Moreover, rate-payers—it must be admitted—have their rights, as well as paupers! Happily, however, these, if we take a sufficiently clear and long-sighted view of the subject, will be found to harmonize perfectly; since the best possible form of relief to the pauper is that which will most speedily raise him above dependence on the rate-payer.

CONCLUSION.

IT remains now shortly to review the various means we have described for training juvenile paupers; and in doing so—while recognizing the probability that different methods may be found efficacious in different localities—the guage by which we purpose to estimate their intrinsic value will be their greater or less success in attaining these two results:—

1st, That of depauperising the children by enabling them to take their place on an equal footing among the honest and industrious of the labouring classes; 2nd, Of securing to them the friendly interest in their welfare, after they have gone into the world, of persons able to afford them the protection and advice needful to sustain them amid the temptations and difficulties with which they will inevitably be beset.

That schools attached to workhouses fail to any practical extent to attain these objects we

assume to be a generally admitted fact; and regard their continuance as only to be accounted for on the hypothesis that they are believed to be cheaper than any other system. But even in actual expenditure it would appear that the boarding-out system, and still more markedly that of apprenticeship to manufacturers, is less costly; while the future tax upon rate-payers by the return of the pupils upon their hands as permanent paupers, or upon the country at large by their sinking into the criminal class, or even the loss only of their worth to the community as producers, is to be estimated, not by a few pence more or less a-week, but by many hundreds of pounds. "Every able-bodied pauper, Mr. Chadwick calculates, who enters on life without the will or the power to earn a living, must cost the community, at the lowest estimate, £400, at the rate of £10 a-year for the forty years which the Insurance Tables give as the probable duration of his life from the adolescent stage. The value of his wages for the same period would, at the average rate of £30 a year, be £1,200. Thus, between the productive labourer and one of the class for whom Mr. Chadwick revives the expressive old English word of

'wastrels,' there is a difference of £1,600. If the pauper turns vagrant, he will levy contributions in a different manner, but to a still greater extent. If he turns thief there is no assigning their limit."[a] Further, it should be borne in mind that—as Miss Twining has wisely remarked—the better the school as regards kindness towards its pupils the more will these cling to it as "home"—and this certainly is the very last association with the workhouse, with which we should wish to inspire the young pauper. Under every aspect, therefore, we must regard workhouse schools as failures, and their abolition to be earnestly desired.

In many respects apprenticeship to manufacturers under the conditions of the experiments made at L——, and N——, seem to ensure the two results we have defined as the standard of success. But we have seen that more recent attempts have proved less satisfactory; and the experience of the Messrs Whitworth tends to show that under the present limitation of the hours of work of children in factories, their labour will not wholly remunerate employers for their

[a] *Quarterly Review*, Oct., 1861.

maintenance, rendering necessary a subsidy from Guardians. Such children would now to a certain extent be protected from ill-usage by the Acts regulating the treatment generally of juvenile workers in factories; but their welfare is still largely dependent, not only on the conscientiousness, but on the good sense of their employers; and Guardians are undoubtedly under a heavy moral responsibility to ascertain that these qualities are not wanting in those to whom they apprentice the children under their care. We would fain see, moreover, some legal power created by which the conditions of the agreement entered into by the manufacturer may be readily enforced, or redress for their violation obtained.

A Separate School, judged by the Children's Establishment at Limehouse, may succeed to a great degree in depauperizing its pupils; while the large staff of officers, and small number (as compared with those in District Schools) of children congregated together, affords opportunity for individualisation, which—among its many excellences—includes that of engendering a mutual affection between teacher and pupil, and a strong interest on the teacher's part in the

child's future welfare, leading to practical effort—in the form of correspondence or visits—to maintain a wholesome influence over it in after life. Still, it must be admitted that those objections which are intensified in proportion with the denseness of the masses of children assembled under one roof, affect in a minor degree Separate Schools; and we fear some of these establishments are in a far less satisfactory state than that at Limehouse.

The very elaboration and perfection of arrangement,—usually regarded as an advantage—incidental to the large numbers dealt with in a District School, are, we must consider, even an aggravation of the evils inseparable from vast establishments; and peculiarly inimical to one of the principal objects we have suggested as essential in the training of pauper children. The Secretary of the Rescue Society tells us of a girl brought up in a District School, and who falling into vice was received into one of the Society's Homes, who actually cried because she was required to carry water upstairs—hot and cold water having, she said, been laid on all over the building in which she had grown up.

The further the life of these young people differs from that of the work-a-day world, the more difficult will they find it to accommodate themselves to its demands when they go forth into it to earn their living; and an establishment where food and every other necessary of life presents itself as a matter of course, where accomplished servants perform the difficult work, and where, above all, the children engross the care and attention of a large staff of officers to whom they have no natural duties to render in return,—an establishment such as this cannot, we aver, duly prepare its inmates to take and hold their place among our working classes: while to retain an influence over its pupils beyond the age of sixteen does not (with the exception we believe of the North Surrey School) appear even to form part of its plan. Mr. Edwards, indeed, in the Letter to the President of the Poor Law Board already quoted, proposed that children sent to service from the Central London School, and having no relations to go to when out of place, should be permitted to return to the school, performing while there the duties of domestic servants, and receiving clothes and rations but no wages. He had good ground for

believing that these young persons would be much sought for by employers requiring older servants than the pupils when first placed out, and that the plan would result in an actual saving to the Poor's rates. We regret that it has not been tried.

It is said, on high authority, that the inmates of such institutions need more bodily sustenance than children brought up under the conditions appointed by nature;[a] just as prisoners require better food than free men to keep them in health and strength. It would appear that the artificial constraint in both cases, acting through the mind upon the body, involves a waste of power, demanding in compensation extra diet.

[a] "The loss of the freedom of home, the absence of the care of parents, and the deadening influence of unexercised affections, entirely counterbalance the supposed advantages in food, air, and clothing." Report on the general sanitary condition of Cowley Industrial School, by Henry W. Acland, M.D., Regius Professor of Medicine in the University of Oxford. Printed by desire of the Oxford Guardians. Oxford and London, J. H. & J. Parker, 1863.

Dr. Acland is speaking of a Separate School, and, by a subsequent passage in his Report, appears to think that District Schools avoid the evils he indicates. It seems to us, however, inevitable that the unfavourable characteristics he enumerates should attach equally to the larger institutions and even with increased intensity.

The cost, as we have seen, of some of the district schools is excessive, and has apparently had the effect predicted of greatly limiting their adoption. In twenty-five years only six have been established, receiving barely 3,000 children, at an annual average expense per head of £19 18s. 7d.[a]

In the Norwich Homes we find an institution established by the Guardians, and completely under their control, in which a certain degree of family life is combined with a method for *planting-out* the boys — so to speak — among the working population, and for giving to the girls some portion of individual training in ordinary domestic work. The results, measured by our standard, are satisfactory; and there is, moreover, an absolute saving in money to the ratepayers. Admission to the Homes, however, is not granted to those whose parents are casual inmates of the workhouse, an arrangement which usually exposes them to more association with the adults than where the children of all classes are retained in the house. But for this serious drawback, we should rejoice to hear of the ex-

[a] Eighteenth Annual Report of the Poor Law Board.

tension of the Norwich plan. Might not the Homes be copied, and some fitting arrangement be made—a Probationary Home, perhaps—for those children to whom, often, alas! their parents are not a blessing but a curse?

Industrial Training Homes established by private individuals (like that at Brockham, &c.), of which nine or ten (besides several institutions for idiots, and for the deaf, dumb, and blind) have been certified under the 25th and 26th Vict., Cap. 43,[a] are most valuable institutions, attaining, we are convinced, a large measure of success in the objects we esteem essential. But it must be remembered that they deal, to a certain extent, with selected cases, that they depend for very existence on the exceptional benevolence and capacity of individuals, at whose death they are liable utterly to collapse; while even Mrs. Way herself—their unwearied advocate, and most munificent and devoted patroness—believes their costliness must render their general adoption impracticable,[b] and almost preclude them from dealing at all with young children.

[a] Seventeenth and Eighteenth Reports of the Poor Law Board.

[b] Evidence before the Poor Relief Committee, 1861.

Their multiplication we earnestly desire; but we have no hope of its ever proving commensurate with the want they aim at supplying. The same may be said of Miss Twining's Home for older girls. It is the only institution of its kind yet opened, and receives forty inmates; while thousands of young women must assuredly—so long as workhouses remain what they are—need the help it affords.

We have now to consider the Boarding-out System, which we have described in much detail, and as existing in several countries. It has been pursued long enough, and under sufficiently varied circumstances to reveal its excellencies; and for us to estimate how far the defects disclosed are capable of removal or amendment. In Ireland, as a purely voluntary enterprize it has attained marked success and won general approval; while in Scotland it has been widely adopted, and entirely administered by the parochial authorities. Of their satisfaction with it, under both a moral and pecuniary aspect, we are informed; and we have seen that it has obtained also the qualified approbation of disinterested but peculiarly competent observers, who are of

opinion that an admixture of voluntary agency, including some additional supervision by ladies, would render it still more efficient.

In the United States we learn that it has been for many years adopted by voluntary workers, and by semi-official labourers in reformatory schools and cognate institutions. In France we observe it to be largely practised by a department of the State; and where successfully pursued—under the administration, namely, of the Bureau Ste. Apolline—we learn that voluntary aid is invoked in the form of sympathy and friendly supervision from persons of social eminence residing in the neighbourhood of the children's homes.

In Germany we find distinguished men, whose opinions founded on official knowledge carry just weight, approving the plan,—particularly with reference to girls; and there also we see independent philanthropists, who have made the salvation of destitute children their special mission, elevating the influence of domestic life above every other agency that can be brought to bear for their reclamation.

We learn that the same system is pursued in Russia in the disposal of orphans; and, as re-

gards *them*, it would appear successfully. The neglect of their own offspring by the foster-mothers is a result too shocking to be compensated by any advantage to the alien child; but by regulating the payment so that it shall afford no temptation to cupidity, this evil, as we have seen by the experience of other countries, and markedly of Germany and Ireland, is avoided. That the foster-parents should not be out of pocket by their acceptance of an orphan is, we are persuaded, all that should be aimed at in apportioning their remuneration. Food, clothing, and shelter, may be paid for by the State; but the love, watchfulness, and sympathy which are equally essential to a child's welfare should be the far more precious contribution of the foster-parent; and in this, truly, the giver and the receiver are equally blessed. Such feelings may reveal themselves in care for the daily comfort and little pleasures of their object, as well as in providing for its moral and spiritual advantage. We have rarely witnessed a more touching scene than presented itself in the modest home of one of the little orphans we have already referred to as placed to board in an English cottage—the abode of two old

maids. They doat upon the child, and she has become to them the very light of their house. The joyous pride is not to be described with which they displayed her neatly-arranged clothing, the patchwork they taught her to make, the mittens she had knitted for them and herself, the umbrella they had persuaded her to save her pence to buy, and which was to protect the pretty little hat into which a well-worn bonnet of their own had been converted,—a little history of kindness attaching to almost every garment; for though all substantial requirements are provided by the Guardians, there is still ample scope for affection to employ itself in making up the material invitingly, and adding the various *et ceteras* which mark the difference between the little pauper in its dull uniform, and the well-cared for cottage child. The orphan in question peculiarly illustrates the beneficial working of the boarding-out system. An illegitimate child, she was about at her mother's death to be consigned to the workhouse when a lady in the neighbourhood obtained permission to place her in a cottage, the Board of guardians allowing her outdoor relief. An aunt in service at a distance

had come to attend the mother's funeral, and the child's patroness appealed to her to contribute to its maintenance. Thankful that the little creature should be saved from the workhouse, she gladly agreed to give a shilling a week,—a large sum for her, and has transmitted this money ever since, not only cheerfully, but with expressions of the warmest gratitude to the benevolent suggester of the plan. The woman is deeply interested in her niece's welfare, with whom a natural and wholesome connexion is maintained; whereas, if the little thing had gone into the workhouse, her relative would probably have felt ashamed of, or even forgotten, her. We make a great mistake, as the child's patroness remarked to us, in assuming that pauper orphans are isolated beings without relatives in the world. They are rarely thus destitute; and frequently have connexions able, if not to support them entirely, at least to help in their maintenance. But they reside perhaps at a distance from the place where the parents die, and unless there is some one sufficiently interested in the child to appeal to their better feelings in its behalf, they remain neglectful, or perhaps even ignorant of its bereavement; it drifts into the workhouse,

becoming a heavy burden on the rate-payers during its childhood, and too often a disgrace to its family and its country for the rest of its life.

When the time arrives for the little maiden, whose history we have sketched, to go to service, her patroness trusts the aunt will seek for her a place and keep her under her eye; but should this not come to pass, we can hardly doubt that she will have the friendship and protection, as long as they live, of the two women to whom she is now as a beloved child.

We could not, however, conscientiously advocate the boarding-out system unless it be accompanied with constant and active supervision. This the authorities assure us is amply exercised by officials in those districts where the plan has originated with Boards of Guardians. But, zealous and kindhearted as the officers appointed to this important duty may be, it must be performed by them to a greater or less degree as a matter of routine; the time of their visits of inspection may generally be calculated, and these cannot be sufficiently frequent to prevent, at any rate, the *possibility* of ill-usage. Moreover, a man, however thoughtful for the chil-

dren's welfare, does not possess the knowledge of their wants and difficulties which comes to a woman almost intuitively; and to supplement, therefore, official authority by the friendly watchfulness which a woman of superior social position, residing within easy reach of the orphan's home, can exercise, appears to us the keystone of the system, ensuring to it public confidence and permanent success.

Those who, like ourselves, had the privilege of hearing the late Prince Consort deliver the inaugural address at the conference on National Education held in June, 1857, will not have forgotten his touching reference to the share taken by the poor man's children in the support and care of his household. "The daughters especially," said the benevolent and enlightened speaker, "are the handmaids of the house, the assistants of the mother, the nurses of the younger children, the aged, and the sick." [a]

Treating the same subject Miss Carpenter remarks, "The girl is especially adapted by nature for a home. . . . The affections have large sway over her whole being. Nature has

[a] *The Principal Speeches and Addresses of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort.* London, John Murray, 1862.

given her varied scope for them in the true home. She is the object of the tender love of the parents, and of her brothers and sisters, and love is constantly awakened and called out by her position in the family. She has the babies to fondle and nurse like a little mother herself; she has a thousand households cares to attend to, and learns cooking practically while she helps to get her father's dinner; and, if the eldest girl, feels herself a very important help in the house. After going regularly to a good day-school, and learning needlework, and enough of reading, writing, and arithmetic for all common purposes, she is prepared at fourteen to take her humble position in life as a little servant, or her mother's helper and right hand, and to fill it with credit. A real good home is infinitely better than any school for the education of girls,—even a second-rate or a third-rate one is preferable. There her true nature is developed, and, unless she is thus prepared to fill its duties well in after life, all other teaching is comparatively useless." [a] The passages just cited speak only of young persons dwelling with their parents, but they are equally applicable to foster-children; and if,

[a] *Social Science Transactions*, 1862.

thus accustomed to the duties, hardships and pleasures of ordinary life, these could have the additional boon of one or two years' training at an Industrial Home, in the branches of domestic work it must be able to perform in a gentleman's house, it appears to us that a future career of usefulness and respectability would be, in the present lack of servants, almost absolutely ensured to it. The Industrial Home would thus take the place of a "finishing school;" and we would complete the analogy by permitting the pupil, where practicable, to return for occasional short holidays to its cottage home, that the family bond, on which we count so much for its future guidance and protection, might not be severed.

The want of skilled servants is daily making itself more and more felt. The demand increases while the supply, from various causes, as markedly diminishes. "The greatest step taken will be," says a writer, discussing this fact in the *Edinburgh Review*, "when we can raise the lowest social class into the late position of that which is escaping from our command,—when we can replenish domestic service from schools which will have rescued pauper and ragged children

from pauperism and raggedness."[a] The 12,000 pauper orphans, thrown annually on our care, may be regarded at once as the *élite* and the most manageable of that class; and they afford a stock of raw material from which we may hope, by due training and the development of their moral nature, to replace the capable and attached servants who are finding their way into other paths of life.

An objection to the Boarding-out system to which we have already referred, namely the insufficiency of good cottage homes, is we ourselves believe, from inquiry and observation, ill grounded; and the experience of those benevolent persons who have introduced the plan in various parts of England strengthens that conviction. All who are intimately acquainted with our humbler brethren (whose generosity in giving far exceeds that of the wealthy classes) are aware it is no unusual circumstance for a child who loses its parents to be spontaneously received into another family. Again, it must be remembered that where Mrs. Archer's scheme is adopted the very presence of the orphan will tend to improve the cottage in

[a] *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1862.

which it is placed, by laying it open to the inspection of a person whose good opinion the cottager will be anxious to preserve; while the orphan will in some respects enjoy even an advantage over the offspring of the cottager, namely in its regular attendance at school, and still more in the fact that it is an object of interest to a neighbour of superior position who is responsible for its welfare, and able to remove it if the circumstances of its home are unfavourable.

But, if, on a general adoption of the system, good homes should not be found in sufficient abundance, they might be supplemented by a plan which suggested itself many years ago to the Dean of Bristol, and which is recommended also by Canon Moseley, whose long experience as a School Inspector renders his sanction invaluable. Canon Moseley, we may add, entirely approves Mrs. Archer's scheme for boarding children in cottages, which has been in satisfactory operation in his own parish for two years, under the supervision of his wife and daughters. "It struck me," the Dean informs us, "when brought in contact with sundry country schools, that it might be possible to graft on them a boarding-

system, the boarders to be children who would otherwise be in poorhouses. I assumed that there might easily be found among the country schools, a very considerable number of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses who were quite capable of undertaking the care of boarders. I felt that it would be a very great advantage to the pauper children to be thus dispersed in country homes,—not the least being that they would by natural process be absorbed into the labour market. I thought also that the guardians might be induced to grant such allowance with the children as would enable many a school to struggle out of present difficulty, and as might perhaps be conducive to bring others into existence. Superintendence would have to be provided, but that is already given in most agricultural schools by the clergy and other friends."

An objection to the plan as advocated by Mrs. Archer has been raised by the Poor Law Board itself, on the ground that it affords no sufficient guarantee for the protection and welfare of the children. Far be it from us to deprecate the closest watchfulness on the part of the central as of the local authorities over

the young people for whom they are responsible to their country, and to God. We think, however, that this objection must have been advanced without due inquiry into the provisions of the scheme; and we cannot but discern a sad mockery in such an argument when proceeding from those who for thirty years have been cognizant of the destruction awaiting young girls thrust among the adult inmates of workhouses, and yet have been satisfied by offering a "recommendation,"—rarely acted upon—to local Boards, to provide a separate ward for these innocent and helpless creatures. The insufficiency of the objection will be felt when it is remembered that Mrs. Archer's plan can be worked only with the consent and co-operation of the Guardians who must be either already acquainted with, or perfectly capable of ascertaining, the estimation in which any lady applying to them for permission to undertake the care of orphans, is held; and to whom her social position is a guarantee of her competence to the charge.

But if the Central Authorities be still dubious of the security offered, we have seen by the example of the Berlin Poor Law Board how the invalu-

able benefit of voluntary supervision may be combined with responsibility to an official head. Already in our own country, ladies in their corporate capacity as members of Committees of industrial and reformatory schools, by accepting a government certificate for those institutions, place themselves in an official relation of responsibility to the State; and we see no reason why the same principle should not work successfully if applied to Associations for befriending pauper orphans; or even to individuals labouring for this object.

Increasing faith in the healthful influence of family-life is revealing itself in many directions, and under conditions where we certainly were unprepared to find it. Dr. Howe, the distinguished American physician—whose development of the mental powers of the blind deaf-mute, Laura Bridgman, has obtained world-wide fame—has come, after many years experience, to regard the assemblage in institutions of any class of sufferers as an evil which must be modified by every means in our power; and, if possible, altogether avoided. At a recent public meeting he said, "I not only organised the first [Institution for the Blind] in the United

States, the main features in the administration of which have been widely copied, but laboured with more zeal than knowledge to induce people to found others; and made direct efforts to the Legislatures of a dozen different States to appropriate money for their support. . . . I accept my full share of condemnation when I say that grave errors were incorporated into the very organic principles of our institutions for the blind, which make them already too much like asylums; which threaten to cause real asylums to grow out of them, and to engender other evils. . . . . All great establishments, in the nature of boarding schools, where the sexes must be separated; where there must be boarding in common and sleeping in congregate dormitories; where there must be routine, and formality, and restraint, and repression of individuality; where the charms and refining influences of the true family relation cannot be had,—all such institutions are unnatural, undesirable, and very liable to abuse. We should have as few of them as is possible, and those few should be kept as small as possible. . . . We should be cautious about establishing artificial communities, or those approaching them in character, for any children

and youth; but more especially should we avoid them for those who have any natural infirmity; or any marked peculiarity of mental organisation. . . . Separation, and not congregation should be the law of their treatment. . . . As much as may be surround insane and excitable persons with sane people, and ordinary influences; vicious children with virtuous people and virtuous influences; blind children with those who see; mute children with those who speak, and the like. . . . Beware how you sever any of those ties of family, of friendship, of neighbourhood, *during the period of their strongest growth*, lest you make a homeless man, a wanderer and a stranger. Especially beware how you cause him to neglect forming early relations of affection with those whose sympathy and friendship will be most important to him during life, to wit, those who have all their senses; and how you restrict him to such relations with persons subject to an infirmity like his own."[a] The latter remarks have especial reference to the blind; but a close parallel may be drawn between their affliction,

[a] Address delivered at the Ceremony of laying the Corner stone of the New York State Institution for the Blind, Sept, 1866. By Samuel G. Howe. Boston: Walker, Fuller & Co. 1866.

shorn of an important sense, and that of the orphan, bereft of his natural protectors; and the method of treatment subsequently sketched by Dr. Howe is analogous to that we are advocating for the parentless child. He urges that the blind should dwell in their own family circle, and even attend as long as possible the ordinary local schools, needful mechanical aids for their instruction being supplied. Only when special teaching is required would he advise their resort to a special institution, and where practicable he would have them attend it simply as day-pupils, that their connexion with family life may remain undisturbed. If circumstances make residence in the institution a necessity, Dr. Howe would limit it to the shortest period within which the instruction they seek can be obtained, and one object of their training while there, should be to fit them to live usefully and happily in the outer world.

In a letter, dated March, 1858, to a friend in the United States (which has been printed for circulation at home), Mr. William Chambers the present Lord Provost of Edinburgh, who, with his brother Robert, is known throughout the

civilized world as the friend and promoter of education in its widest sense, thus expresses himself on the subject we are considering :—"I would, in any case, deprecate the assemblage of large numbers in a single establishment. For orphans, the deaf, the mute, the blind, and the weak in intellect, the nearer we can bring the family principle into operation the better. In Edinburgh an hospital for pauper children has been given up with, I believe, good effect. Instead of being immured in a large building, and brought up in a dull, moping sort of way, the children have been all boarded out among families in the country, where they enjoy better health and spirits, besides getting acquainted with a thousand things of which they could have gained no knowledge in their dreary hospital home. Another example presents itself. Latterly, the buildings of George Watson's hospital (for boys), Edinburgh, have been undergoing extensive repair ; the inmates have, therefore, been boarded out, and only come to their classes in the hospital. Now, I have it on good authority, that since the boys went to live with families, they have assumed a different look, are much smarter than formerly, and, in

particular, walk alertly, instead of shambling in their gait, as is the bad habit of hospital children. . . . . Of the vices which are apt to grow up among either boys or girls under the monastic system, I would rather not speak. It is perhaps sufficient to say, that by no conceivable rules can we enforce the humanising discipline of the paternal home within the sphere of hospital—or call it college—routine. Where the heart is left unsolaced by the holier affections, or is not exhilarated by a sense of freedom and a happy intercourse with the world, it naturally becomes a prey to the baser passions; and much have they to answer for who, from mistaken motives of benevolence, contribute to this course of demoralisation."

From the eastern hemisphere comes another striking testimony to faith in the wholesome influence of domestic life. In his able work on Crime in India, published a few months ago, Major G. Hutchinson describes the manner in which members of two notorious thieving tribes, the Sansees and the Pukheewars, have been dealt with. The scheme was originated in 1858 by Mr. Prinsep, Bengal Civil Service, and

consists in locating the criminals and their families in "reformatory villages." These are walled enclosures, called by the natives "kots." To the head of each family was allotted land sufficient, with careful cultivation, for subsistence. Seed, implements, and cattle were given, and wells were sunk. Although these people had led the wildest jungle life, supporting themselves by theft, they have gradually settled down under the double influence of restriction to one spot, and incitement to honest labour; and burglarious offences in the district had in 1862 diminished by nearly 50 per cent. "Their character," says Major Hutchinson, who inspected them officially in 1865, "is decidedly improved, and in some kots they have really adopted clothes in addition to a mere loin-cloth; and as I myself saw with agreeable surprise, those clothes in the case of two or three head men were positively clean. Crimes are stated by the Deputy Commissioner to have decreased since these tribes were thus collected in reformatory villages. Schools are in full work amongst them; the scholars—boys and girls—examined before me showed quite sufficient ability to give great encouragement to this most important part of reformatory treat-

ment. . . . It is no slight responsibility which the government has undertaken, but I may note as worthy of attention that the government commences its labours with the great advantage of having all these people in families, the very system which at Mettray is found to be so absolutely necessary." [a]

One more example we will cite of the beneficial influence of home life. On becoming Recorder of Birmingham, Mr. M. D. Hill pursued with regard to juvenile criminals a plan he had seen successfully practised by the Magistrates of the Warwickshire Sessions. If the offence had been committed against the youth's master, and he was willing to take the delinquent back, the Recorder—unless the crime had been of too serious a nature—consigned the young person again to his care. Out of 417 thus dealt with, and of whose career as complete a register as circumstances permitted, was kept by the Chief of Police, only 80 at the end of 12 years (when the passing of the Reformatory Schools Act placed the treatment of young offenders on a

[a] *Reformatory Measures connected with the Treatment of Criminals in India*, by Major G. Hutchinson, Inspector-General of Police, Punjab. Lahore, 1866.

new basis) were known to have been reconvicted. Yet the circumstance that they returned to the same position in which they had gone astray, and were thus probably exposed to the same temptations, and perhaps even to the same evil companions whose influence had caused their fall, was strongly adverse to their reformation; and it is to the fact that they were received into the bosom of a family, that the Recorder attributed the chief portion of the success attained by the course he adopted. [a]

But, desirous as we are for the extension of the Boarding-out system, and sanguine of its favourable results, we do not recommend it as a panacea. Under existing circumstances, especially while the law leaves to the vicious or idle pauper authority over the disposal of the child he would corrupt, or will not maintain,—perhaps under any social conditions to which we can yet look forward, it would be neither expedient or possible thus to deal with *all* the children of the State. Yet, to do our utmost to unpauperize the whole body is alike our duty and our interest. It is hard upon the honest parent,

[a] *The Repression of Crime*, by Matthew Davenport Hill, Q. C., London: Parker & Son, 1857.

whom misfortune alone has brought into the workhouse, to subject his offspring to the corrupting influences from which we withdraw the orphan; and it is hard upon the yet innocent child of the vicious parent to leave it to become what its progenitors are. It is unwise to throw away the opportunity afforded us, however slight it may be, of benefitting that class which is perhaps the most pitiable in the whole community,—the children of criminals, who become dependent on the State, because their parents are in prison. And some children there, doubtless, are so depraved that it would be wrong to risk their contaminating the offspring of the honest cottager; for these, however, the union affords no proper treatment,—they should be consigned to the industrial or the reformatory school.

If then the boarding-out system cannot be pursued with every class, it behoves us to seek the next best method within our reach. The scheme hereafter submitted to our readers is suggested by Mrs. Archer as capable of dealing in their respective classes with all our pauper children. On some points we feel bound to express our dissent; but we do so with hesitation,

our own practical knowledge of the question being extremely limited compared with her's, founded on close observation as a constant visitor in a workhouse during twenty-four years. Conversant as she has thus become with the operation of the Poor Law, any proposal from her on the subject is entitled to respectful consideration. We are incompetent to offer an opinion on the practicability of her scheme in its entirety; but we would venture to suggest to Guardians who are dissatisfied with the existing state of things, that portions might be, experimentally at least, adopted.

If, moreover, we have succeeded in proving the eligibility of the boarding-out system for the classes recommended for it by Mrs. Archer, to which we would add deserted children (due legal power being created to prevent any subsequent interference by parents; or if their offspring should eventually be restored to them, to obtain surety for their proper treatment), the numbers left to be dealt with by other means would be comparatively small. Of these some might be disposed of by apprenticeship to manufacturers; and for some 'Homes' like those at Norwich might be suitable.

One serious objection will doubtless be urged against the abolition of workhouse schools,—namely the loss of the money already expended in their erection. This is indeed a grave consideration; but if investigation should prove that such schools not only fail to convert bad citizens into good ones, but actually turn good citizens into bad ones, it will be seen that even pecuniary extravagance lies, not in abolishing, but in retaining the institution. Moreover, the experience of Eton Union shows an actual excess in the weekly expenditure for children retained in the workhouse as compared with those boarded out, independent of the earnings of the latter.[a] At any rate we would earnestly implore all Boards who have yet to provide for the children of their unions, to ascertain for themselves the merits of the different methods of training we have endeavoured to describe. And as regards those workhouses, already supplied with schools, in which additional accomodation for adults may be required, we

[a] So favourably does the *Social Science Association* regard the Eton plan that it passed a Resolution at Belfast urging such assimilation of the Irish Poor-Law to ours as would afford Irish guardians the same discretion in respect to the boarding-out system as those authorities possess in England.

would urge the expediency of dispersing the children abroad, and appropriating their portion of the buildings to meet the want.

MRS. ARCHER'S PROPOSAL;

(WITH OUR NOTES THEREON).

"CLASSES OF CHILDREN IN WORKHOUSES;

"*How I would deal with them.*

CLASS 1.	CLASS 2.	CLASS 3.	CLASS 4.
Orphans who have lost both parents.	The children of Lunatics.	The children of infirm persons residing in the workhouse.	The children of respectable persons residing in the workhouse.
CLASS 5.	CLASS 6.	CLASS 7.	CLASS 8.
Children deserted by their parents.	The children of persons in prison.	The children of disreputable married persons in the workhouse.	The children of unmarried women in the workhouse.

"CLASSES 1 and 2. *Orphans having lost both parents, and the children of Lunatics.*—These children might be placed out with cottagers, giving them a liberal weekly allowance so as to get them into first-class cottages. They should be under the supervision of ladies, according to my Scheme, and educated at National Schools. If, in any case, a proper cottage home could not

be found for one of these children, the child might be sent to an Industrial School, founded especially for such children. One such Industrial School would be sufficient for the children of several counties.[a] The orphans and the children of lunatics might be sent at times, for special training, to one of these Industrial Schools (just as middle-class people send their sons and daughters to boarding schools, having them home for holidays). Holidays might be given to such children (at the same time allowing them out-door relief), in case the persons offering to receive the children were approved by the Board of Guardians. Children in Class 3[b] might be dealt with as Classes Nos. 1 and 2, provided the consent of the parent be obtained for so doing.

"CLASSES 3 and 4.—*The children of infirm persons residing in the workhouse; and the children of respectable persons residing in the*

[a] We should object to such an arrangement, as likely to mass too many children together, unless the institution consisted, as at the Rauhe Haus, of several small houses, standing in the same grounds, and under the same general management, but each forming a distinct dwelling, capable of receiving twelve or fifteen children under the care of a man and his wife. We would urge, also, that the institution be unofficial in character; founded and conducted by voluntary workers, but capable of receiving State aid and inspection, under 25 and 26 Vict., Cap. 43.

[b] And we would suggest in Class 4 also.

house.—These children might be sent daily to the National School nearest to the workhouse, and might be allowed to go to church on Sundays with the National School children. They might be taken in an orderly manner to and fro to the school and back by some respectable pauper in the House, who would also attend to their clothes and teach them habits of cleanliness. The boys might be taken charge of by an aged man.[a] If the school were at some distance

[a] Doubtless there may be found in most, if not in all, workhouses, inmates fit morally to undertake the supervision of children; but to select them demands a power of discrimination in masters and matrons, which, if otherwise competent to exert it, we do not think they have, under existing regulations, the time duly to exercise. Many of the present evils existing in workhouses arise, we believe, from the powers, bodily and mental, of the Superintendents being overtasked, a circumstance which tends to keep a superior class of persons out of this branch of employment. The higher the social position of the governors and matrons of gaols, the better is the influence—in the opinion of Sir Walter Crofton—they exercise over prisoners; and doubtless the effect of appointing gentlemen and ladies to the superintendence of our poorhouses would be equally beneficial.

The class of paupers from whom the Supervisors of the children would, according to Mrs. Archer's proposal, be selected, would necessarily be the infirm—as no able-bodied man or woman would inhabit a workhouse who would be morally a fit companion to the young; and we fear the inactivity of body and too frequent peevishness of temper belonging to age or weak health would disqualify for this office the inmates who might otherwise be suitable.

from the workhouse the children might take their dinners with them, as village children do who live at a distance from the school. Separate wards both for sleeping, and living in when not at school, should be allowed for these children, from those occupied by the children of disreputable parents (that is parents convicted of crime, or wanderers, or immoral women), occasionally residing in the House. Into these separate wards the parents of the children should constantly be allowed access. The children should take their meals in their day ward, and not in the dining hall.

"CLASSES 5 and 6. *Deserted children and the children of persons in prison.*—A County School should be established for these children in the locality of the county gaol, to which charitable persons should have access under proper Rules, for the purpose of endeavouring to find out whether any of the children have respectable friends or relatives, and to interest such persons in their welfare and, if possible, to take charge of them. Thus many a little deserted child might find a proper home, perhaps in some distant part of the county where the shame of the parents' crime might not be known; and

the parents, through the relatives, or friends, might be won over eventually to perform their duty to the child which they had deserted. [a]

"CLASSES 7 and 8. *The children of disreputable married persons occasionally in the workhouse, and the children of unmarried women in the house:*— For these I would have a daily governess, who might, I should think, easily be obtained for a sum of eight shillings or ten shillings a week; (or perhaps a respectable pauper in the house might act as schoolmistress), who should teach the boys and girls in one school room; and when they were not under her care they should be under the superintendence of some respectable inmates. These children should have all their meals in a separate ward, and not be allowed to

[a] As we have already said, we would class deserted children with those to be boarded-out. The children of prisoners in Paris, are, it will be remembered, boarded out; but if this course be regarded as impracticable here, we would make the proposed institution for their reception rather a *Home* than a *School*. Many of the inmates would be infants too young for schooling, in whose care the elder girls might be partially employed, as well as in doing the domestic work of the house. Many of the elder children would probably have been attending Ragged, or even pay-schools, and we would advise that such attendance be continued when possible; efforts being meanwhile made to get the children, if old enough, into employment.

speak to their parents oftener than once a month, unless in case of illness; because the parent or parents who so frequently leave the workhouse would see enough of their children when they had them out of the workhouse. On Sunday, these children would attend Divine service in the Chapel of the workhouse while the children of respectable paupers would go to the Parish Church; and thus these Classes 1, 2, 3, 4, would not be thrown together with Classes 7 and 8."[a]

To an element of great importance, in dealing with juvenile paupers (as indeed with paupers of any age), Mrs. Archer's Proposal, and the previous contents of these pages alike point—the

[a] It is most desirable that these children be entirely separated from the offspring of respectable parents, but we doubt if this be possible where both classes are retained under the same roof. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that in eliminating the virtuous, the evil lot of the rest is intensified; and it becomes all the more important to bring such other means to bear for their improvement as may be available. With this view we would recommend the best instead of the cheapest teacher. If a lady could be induced to undertake the post, she might perform a service to her country as great as any of the noble deeds achieved in the hospitals of Scutari, or cholera-haunts of London. Besides exercising a purifying iufluence on the children she might through them reach their parents, especially the unwedded mothers, who, shameless and obdurate as they may too often be,

influence, namely, of educated and refined women. "The broad daylight of publicity," to quote an appropriate and forcible expression, would of itself go far to eradicate, or, at least, to mitigate the evils attaching at present to the administration of our Poor-law; and the wider the area, from which aid in the management of our workhouses is drawn, the more extended will be the interest aroused, and the greater the publicity attained. Moreover, that "woman's mission" is to tend the young, and nurse the sick, is a proposition constantly urged by the opposite sex, and fully accepted by her own. That "woman's rights" involve therefore her admission on at least equal terms to the management of institutions whereof the inmates consist chiefly of those two classes, would appear to be a necessary deduction from that proposition.

have yet sometimes a passionate affection for their offspring which, if rightly directed, is a mighty power for good.

As regards *all* pauper children we would urge the importance of calling in the aid of penal measures for the dishonest and the refractory by consigning them under sentence to Reformatory or Industrial Schools. Neither our workhouses nor the substitutes suggested in this volume, possess the means to *reform*. To *prevent* is their nobler task.

A Paper read before the Church Congress[a] ably discusses the question how women's influence may, with advantage, be officially exercised in these institutions, and suggests two ways:—"1st, As *Visitors* or Inspectors; 2nd, As *Residents* or Superintendents. It will be said," continues the writer, "that there is always a resident woman or matron over these institutions, both for the young and the aged. It is true; but what is the amount of the 'feminine element' thus employed in comparison with that of the other sex? The governing and commanding power is entirely in the hands of men; and the women to whom the management of details is entrusted by them, are rarely of a class who can originate or suggest improvements, or even exercise moral influence. In all institutions we require more women in authority, and of a higher class. . . . Who has ever counted up all the failures, the losses, the errors, which the sole management of men in Boards of Guardians has incurred? Women, at all events hitherto, cannot be to blame for all these things in which our workhouses have failed; while, seeing that God

[a] Women's Work in Workhouses. A Paper read at the Church Congress, held at Oxford, July, 1862.

has throughout the world given into their hands the management of the household, the nursery, and the sick room, is it not reasonable to suppose that some, at least, of these evils might be averted by the advice, the inspection, the counsel of educated women being introduced into every workhouse in the land, not superseding, but co-operating with the Guardians, and leaving to them their rightful sphere of work?"

"A great mistake was made," said Archdeacon Utterton, speaking of the training of pauper children, "when men thought they could do a great work without the women. A man was nothing without the woman, nor a woman without the man."[a] Arguing in favour of lady visitors to workhouses Sir Walter Crofton says, "It is no slight confirmation of this opinion to state, as I most emphatically do state, that the attendance of lady visitors at the large female convict prison in Dublin has been productive, not of irregularity or interference with the strict regulations of the establishment, as some may suppose, but of the best and the most beneficial results, both to the

[a] *Journal of the Workhouse Visiting Society*, March, 1863.

public and to the criminals themselves."[a] Miss Twining, in her evidence before a Parliamentary Committee urged the appointment of female Inspectors for workhouses, to the exclusion of two or three ladies as Boards of Guardians. In either capacity she believed they would be an aid and support to every rightly disposed matron in the discharge of her duties: and a great check upon those inclined to wrong-doing, who are able to deceive a body of gentlemen in a way they could not do if ladies had the inspection as well."[b]

We have sometimes been amused by a workhouse matron that she often wished for ladies among the Guardians whose visits she was as she felt reluctant to discuss with gentlemen domestic details respecting which however she frequently needed advice and assistance.

In the course of a discussion which followed the reading of a paper on "Workhouse Infirmaries," by Mrs. Twining at Glasgow, Mr. Duncan M'Laren, M.P. for Edinburgh, said "He believed if women were taken more to aid every one of our public institutions, it would be better for it

[a] *The Workhouse Infirmary Question.*

[b] *Report of the Select Committee on Poor Relief, July, 1861.*

Having had considerable experience in public institutions, hospitals, etc., he was struck with the want of administrative and superintending women. He thought that in every workhouse there should be a female committee, the same as the existing committee of management, and that all the female servants should be appointed and supervised by ladies. Were their duties carefully defined, he trusted so much to the tact of women that he was sure that in one year they would do as much good as a governor could do in seven. He thought the public were under a deep debt of gratitude to Miss Twining and the ladies who were associated with her. He should like to see committees appointed by the legislature."[a] Miss Carpenter, at Dublin, the following year, suggested that all pauper children should be educated in institutions distinct from the workhouse, and managed by committees annually chosen by the ratepayers, the girls to be under the direction of a committee of ladies.[b]

Mr. W. R. Lloyd, who for several years devoted much valuable time and labour to the public service as guardian of a large parish, in a paper

[a] *Journal of the Workhouse Visiting Society*, Nov., 1860.

[b] *Social Science Transactions*, 1861.

read at the Social Science meeting at Bradford, says, "I am of opinion that the interests of girls' schools must materially suffer so long as their oversight is confined to the boards of guardians, and inspectors, as now constituted. The Government Inspector, usually a classical scholar, with honours from the University of Oxford or Cambridge, makes minute investigations into the proficiency of the poor girls in reading, writing, and arithmetic, scripture history and geography; but as to his qualification for judging of their improvement in needlework, their skill in cutting, fitting, or mending, the regularity of the darning or knitting, washing and the getting up of linen, the style of performance of any household, kitchen, or nursery service, he cannot refer to any degree, diploma, or experience to give authority to his opinions. It is impossible for such gentlemen to know the amount of work that a class of girls ought to do, what should be the progress made in stitching and darning, and all the other industrial female work, during the half year.... If the system of Government inspection of the sort of education and training acknowledged necessary for workhouse schools is to be efficient, it appears consistent that only a lady experienced

in such matters can do justice to the requirement of these important duties. She should be fully qualified to organize all necessary scholastic, domestic, and industrial training and report half-yearly. By her observations and comparisons in various schools through the country she would be enabled to advise and direct the best methods of training the girls, and her reports would be of equal, if not superior, value to those usually published by the Poor Law Board."

A late eminent school inspector, aware of his incompetence to judge of the industrial acquirements of the female pupils, used to take his wife with him on his official tours, who ably discharged the duty of which he felt himself incapable; and he advised his brother inspectors to follow his example. His expedient, honest and shrewd though it was, might perhaps even be excelled by the appointment of authorized Female Inspectors who should share at once the responsibility and the emoluments of their male colleagues.

"The eligibility of women to be Guardians," we are informed on the highest Poor-law authority, "has never been determined;" but

"they are liable to be appointed overseers." We could wish that their fitness for the latter post might be practically tested ; and their legal competence to the former promptly declared ; or, if needful, be obtained by legislative enactment. It is difficult to conceive that evil could arise from thus rendering women eligible to take their part in the official care of the poor. It would still rest with the ratepayers to elect them or not ; and supposing they were chosen, if experience should be unfavourable to their continuance in office, they would be removed by the simple method of withholding the votes of the constituency. The impediment to obtaining the co-operation of ladies, however, at the Board of Guardians, would lie, we believe, rather in their reluctance to undertake the arduous post, than in unwillingness to elect them. But we hope the importance of the services they might render by accepting the office would overcome a not unnatural repugnance to the task.

But it is not the importance of female aid that we desire alone to urge, any more than the strict performance of simply official duties. There is enough to employ the intelligent, the educated, and the refined of both sexes, whether

in or out of office, in assuaging the physical sufferings and ameliorating the moral condition of our pauper brethren throughout the land. "As one of the framers of the Poor-Law has remarked," says Miss Cobbe, "those laws were designed to form a mere bony skeleton, indicating the form and affording a basis for the *flesh* of voluntaryism to make a living body of national charity. By a fatal result of jealousy and routine, the voluntary element has been too often excluded, and we have only a fearful spectre, haunting with death-like image all the lower vaults of our social fabric."[a] It is not, however, to jealous occlusion only that the absence of the voluntary element must be attributed. We ourselves have, as a rule, been supine; and where we have left our share of duty to be performed by paid officers, we ought to feel no surprise that it is discharged perfunctorily with dull and ineffective routine. The revelations of workhouse mismanagement which are thickening around us are but proofs of our neglect of an urgent and obvious responsibility; while they call upon us trumpet-tongued at once to claim as our right a share in administering the

[a] *Macmillan's Magazine.* April, 1861.

charity of the State. The expediency of thus combining official and non-official effort has lately been recognized by a high authority. Lord Carnarvon, in the debate in the House of Lords on Provincial Workhouses, said, "In any steps that might be taken for the reform of these institutions he should be glad to see the co-operation of private benevolence secured as far as possible—a co-operation which experience had shown to be of the utmost service in those institutions."[a]

In our comments on Mrs. Archer's Proposal, we have sought to enlarge to the utmost the scope of home influence in dealing with juvenile paupers. The "family system," in any form, is, we are aware, at present unrecognized by the regulations of our Poor-law, and may be unknown even by name at the Central Board. Most respectfully, but most earnestly, do we ask for it their consideration. To it is attributed by M. Demetz a large measure of that success in reclaiming the young which has made his noble institution an exemplar to the whole world. Shall we be satisfied to achieve less for pauper

[a] *Times.* Nov. 29th, 1867.

children in England than is accomplished for criminal children in France? Mettray has converted to useful citizens 94·47 per cent. of the youths she has restored to liberty. Let us strive to show no less fair a return for all we expend in money, time, and care on our CHILDREN OF THE STATE!

We conclude with a summary of the principles proved, we submit, in the foregoing pages.

1st. Our Poor-law implies a right to aid from the State in all incapable of supporting themselves.

2d. The State in granting such aid obtains a correlative control over the recipients.

3d. The vast power she thus takes to herself furnishes her with means for the reduction of pauperism which her own interests, apart from higher motives, render it imperative on her to employ.

4th. These means lie, as regards the young, in so training them as to impart the desire and the capacity for self-support.

5th. One condition essential to this end is

their complete separation from adults of their own class,—such separation being impossible where the school forms part of the same building with the workhouse.

6th. That must be the best method of training children which is appointed by Nature,—namely under family influences; and when artificial methods are employed, they should be made to approach the model as closely as possible.

7th. The method practised in our Pauper Schools is contrary to that established by Nature; and fails signally in producing good results.

8th. The "family system," as pursued in Industrial Homes, and as still more precisely followed in "boarding-out," while it secures separation from adult paupers, conforms, as nearly as practical obstacles permit, to the course prescribed by Nature herself.

9th. Its success has been proved by long and varied experience.

THE END.

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